Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona Wolume XVII 1935-36

EDITED BY

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PART I

THE DATES OF THE SMRTI-CHAPTERS OF THE MATSYA-PURĀNA.

BY

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The determination of the date of composition of the Matsya-Purana, as we have it now, is rather difficult. No one date is sufficient for it, because it has suffered through repeated additions Hence, for the date of this Purana in its earlier and losses. form, we shall have to look to the chapters dealing with the genealogies of kings of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, for, these chapters are undoubtedly the oldest parts in the present Matsya. These chapters, again, should be divided into two groups, viz. (1) chapters 11-12, 23-24 and 43-46, which have not yet been traced anywhere else, and (2) chapters 47-50 and 271-273, which greatly resemble chapters 96 (verses 192ff.), 97-98 and 99 (especially, except verses 367-391) of the Vāyu-Purāna. Besides these, there are also other chapters which are common to the Matsya and the Vāvu-Purāna, viz. Matsya-Purāna chapters 51, 114, 124-128 and 1:1-145 and $V\bar{a}uu-Pur\bar{a}na$ chapters 29, 45 (verses 69 to end), 46 (verses 1 to end, except some verses), 50 (verses 56 to end), 51, 52 (verses 1 to 71^a), 52 (71^b to end) and 53. We shall first turn our attention to the chapters of the second group, and especially to chapters 50 (verses 72ff) and 271-273

dealing with the future dynasties, because their date will help us to ascertain the date of the present Matsya-Purāṇa.

The striking agreement between the chapters common to the Matsya and the Vāyu-Purāna naturally raises in our mind the question as to whether these two Puranas borrowed their accounts from the same original source or one of them copied from the other. As a solution Mr. Pargiter has put forth the theory that about the last quarter of the 3rd century A. D. the Matsua borrowed from the Bhavisya the shorter account (of the future dynasties) which ended with the downfall of the Andhras and the local kingdoms that survived them a while. 'The Bhavisua account was then extended down to the time when the Gupta kingdom had acquired the territories assigned to it, and its language was revised; that would be (say) about 320-325 A. D. The $V\bar{a}yu$ copied that extended and revised account from the Bhuvisya almost immediately, and that is the version found in eVayu (i. e. a Ms of the Vayu-P. preserved in the India Office Library and called eVayu by Mr. Pargiter for differentiation). Afterwards, the language of the Bhavisya version was revised again soon adopted by the $V\bar{a}yu$ and is the version found now in $V\bar{a}yu$ Mss generally. '1 This theory, with all its attractiveness and reasonings, is not free from defects. The way, in which the Matsya and the Vayu refer to the 'Bhavisya,' shows clearly that their versions were not copied verbatim from the original source, for in the 'Bhavisya' itself such references would be absurd and meaningless. If so, why, then, do the two versions agree almost literally not only in the genealogies but also in the stories of kings, sages and demons; viz. Matsua $47 = V\bar{a}uu$ 96 (verses 192ff)-98 (on Visnu's different incarnations and the war between the gods and the demons); $Matsya 48, 30 - 89 = V\bar{a}yu 99$, 35-98 (containing the story of the birth of Dirghatamas, his practice of go-dharma and his begetting of five sons on the maid-

^{1.} Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali age, Introduction p. xiii.

^{2.} Viz: in 'tān sarvān kīrtayiṣyāmi Bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān'—Matsya 50, $75 = V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 267; the $V\bar{a}yu$ reads 'paṭhitān' for 'kathitān'; 'tasyānvavāye vakṣyāmi Bhaviṣye kathitān nṛpān'—Matsya 50, $77 = V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 270; the $V\bar{a}yu$ reads 'tāvate' for 'kathitān'. And 'Bhaviṣye te prasaṃkhyātāḥ purāṇajñaiḥ śrutarṣibhiḥ'—Matsya 273, $37 = V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 417; the latter reads bhaviṣyais—tatra saṃkhyātāḥ' for 'Bhaviṣye etc'.

servant and the wife of Vali); Matsya 49, 15-34 = $V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 139-158 (story of the birth of Bharadvāja); and so on. The genealogies of kings are given in some other Purānas also and there are, of course, certain verses which are found common to two or more of them, but the striking agreement which is found between the Matsya and the $V\bar{a}yu$ is to be met with nowhere else. So the mutually agreeing Matsya and $V\bar{a}yu$ versions, which are not copies made from the original source, could not be based independently upon this source-because in that case they could never agree so literally-but one of them must have drawn upon the other.

The expressions '.....Bhavisye kathitān nṛpān,' 'Bhavisye te prasamkhyātāḥ.......' etc. occurring both in the Vāyu and the Matsya, should not be taken to be due to the independent use of the same original (be it the Bhavisya-Purāṇa or anything else) by these two Purāṇas. But the reason is that, as we shall see below, the version of the Vāyu was based on some original to which it refers as 'Bhavisya' and the Matsya version is only a copy of the Vāyu version. So the references also have been retained in the Matsya.

It may be questioned, 'If one of the Matsya and the $V\bar{a}yu$ used the other as the source, then how are we to explain the differences between the two Puranas in readings and additional verses?' The answer is that such differences are to be ascribed to the later additions, alterations, losses and mistakes made by the scribes Even the different Mss of a particular Purana are always found to differ not slightly in readings and numbers of verses, but inspite of such differences the work is originally the same. So, the Matsya and Vayu versions should not be taken to be distinct from, and independent of, each other merely on account of such differences. On the other hand, a comparison of readings and verses given from different Mss in the AnSS editions of the Vayu and the Matsya lessens such variations to a very great extent. It should be remembered that no one Ms of a Purana is reliable for such comparison, for it is not seldom found that while one Ms preserves a correct reading in a place another makes a mistake and the verses omitted by one Ms in a place are found in another. For example, Vayu 99, 15 (= Brahmanda III, 74, 14 = Matsya 48, 11b-12a; the Matsya reads 'Kolāhalasya' for 'Kalanalasya' of the Vayu and the Brahmanda) was not found in the Ms C of the $V\bar{a}yu$ (vide $V\bar{a}yu$ -P., p. 370, foot-note): $V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 17° (= $Brahm\bar{a}nda$ III, 74, 16° = Matsya 48, 14°; reading differs) was not found in the Ms B of the same Purana; and so on. Similarly, Matsya 49, 52b-59 (= $V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 175-182; readings differ) were not found in the Ms C (vide Matsya-P.. Anss ed. p. 102, foot note); and so on. On the other hand Mat. 49, 61-69, which are not found in the $V\bar{o}yu$ -P., were also not found in the Mss D and E of the Matsya (vide Matsya-P., Anss ed., p. 102, foot-note); Mat. 50, 41°, not occurring in the Vayu did not also occur in the Mss A and B (vide Matsya-P., Anss ed., p. 105, foot-note); and so on. As regards the readings also a good number of such examples may be given.

As to the inter-relation among the Vāyu, Brahmānda, and Matsya, it may be said that the $V\bar{a}yu$ and $Brahm\bar{a}nda$, though originally one, were separated long ago. Since separation they have been subjected, separately and independently, to additions, alterations, losses and mistakes made by the scribes. As the same additions, alterations etc. were not, and could not possibly be, made in these two separate works by different hands belonging to different climes and ages, where one is found to preserve the original text and reading, the other makes a mistake. It is only for this reason that, "where the Vayu and Brahmanda differ, one of them not seldom agrees with the Matsya" which also has not escaped additions, alterations etc; that "single Mss of them sometimes vary so as to agree with the reading of the Matsya; " and that " one Purana occasionally omits a verse which appears in one or both of the two others, yet a single Ms (or a very few Mss) of it has at times preserved that verse......" 1.

From all that has been said above it follows that the Matsya and $V\bar{a}yu$ versions were not based independently on the same original source nor were they copied verbatim from it, but that either the Matsya version was copied from that of the $V\bar{a}yu$ or vice versa. We shall now try to see which one is the borrower. In Matsya 142 (= $V\bar{a}yu$ 57, 1-85) the genealogies of the sages are referred to as narrated before but there is no

Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali age, Introduction, p. vi.

² Cf, kramāgatam mayāpy·etat tubhyam noktam yuga-dvayam, ṛṣi-vam-sa-prasangena vyākulatvāt tathātmanah — Matsya 142, 39 = Vayu 57, 38. The latter reads 'hi' for 'api,' 'proktam' for 'noktam' and 'tathaiva ca' for 'tathātmanah.'

chapter in the Matsya dealing with these and preceding chapter 142, whereas in the Vayu there is a chapter (viz. 28) which deals with rsi-vamsa. In the Matsya the genealogies of sages are given as late as in chapters 195-202 which, on account of their position and elaborate character, seem to be later additions. Moreover, the opening verses contain Manu's mention of Siva's curse on the sage—a curse which has really not been referred to by the Fish anywhere in the Matsya-P. These chapters (195-202), which practically treat of the gotras and pravaras, may have been based on the works on pravaras ascribed to Baudhāyana, Kātyāyana, Viśvāmitra, Garga and others ('pravara-gotrayoh samānatvāsamānatve Baudhāyana-Kātyāyana-Viśyāmitra-Gargādi-pranītesu pravara-granthesu prasiddhe '-Vide Parāśara-bhāsua of Mādhavācārya, Vol. I, part ii. p. 72). Again, in Matsya 50, 68-71 (= $V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 260-263; the Vayu differs in readings in several places) the sages, wishing to hear of the future, put to Sūta several questions about (1) the future kings—their names and the periods of their reigns, and (2) the future ages-their characteristic signs, their merits and defects, and the happiness and miseries of the people during these ages. Consequently, Sūta, promising to narrate to them the future Kali age, the future manyantaras and the future kingships1, begins with the future kings and answers all the questions in Matsya 50 (verses 77 to end = $V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 270-2802) and 271-273 $(=V\bar{a}yu\ 99,\ 281\ to\ end)$. About the future manyantarss, which Suta himself wants to narrate, nothing is said in the Matsya-P., whereas in the Vayu these are dealt with in the following chapter (viz. chapter 100). From these disagreements between the two Puranas it follows that the Matsya-P. borrowed only those chapters from the Vāyu, which it found necessary, without caring for the lines containing references to other chapters of the Vayu. So, we may hold that the Matsya borrowed the chapters common to itself and the Vāyu from the latter and not from the Bharisya. And this priority of the Vayu account explains why "the Vāyu has Prakritisms sometimes where the Matsya has correct Sanskrit."2

¹ Cf. Matsya 50, $72-76 = V\bar{a}yu$ 99, 264-269; the readings differ in a few cases.

² Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali age, Introduction, p. xiv.

The above view is supported further by the $V\bar{a}yu$ Mss themselves. One Vayu Ms (referred to as e Vayu by Mr. Pargiter and belonging to the India Office Library) is described as follows: "Very valuable because it has readings different from the printed editions and some verses not contained therein; and where it differs therefrom, it often agrees with the Matsya'' Moreover, in that portion of the account, which deals with the evils of the Kali age and a chronological-astronomical summary of the age, "the account in $eV\bar{a}yu$ has the full description with the exception of a few verses." From these it follows that the agreement between the $V\bar{a}yu$ and Mateya versions was once much greater than it is now and that the text of the Vayu has been much tampered with, with the result that it has suffered, not without occasional gain, through additions, losses and mistakes. It should be noted here that the Vayu Ms referred to can not be proved to have preserved the original readings of the Vayu and that there might have been other Mss containing better readings.

Before finishing this topic we are confronted with another problem, viz, why Vāyu 99, 365-391, which carry the narrative down to the rise of the Guptas, do not occur in the Matsya-P., though the latter drew upon the former. The explanation is that the $V\bar{a}yu$ version of the dynasties of the Kali age must have had two stages of termination. In its earlier stage it ended with the downfall of the Andhras and the local kingdoms that survived them a while, and it was in this stage that the Matsya copied the $V\bar{a}yu$ version. In the second stage the $V\bar{a}yu$ account was extended to the rise of the Guptas by the addition of verses 365-391 of $V\bar{a}yu$ 99. There being no mention of Samudragupta's conquests in this later addition, Mr. Pargiter thinks, and not unreasonably, that this addition was made not later than 335 A. D. 2 Hence the date of the $V\bar{a}yu$ version in its earlier stage should be placed not earlier than the middle of the 3rd century A. D. when the Andhra kingdom fell and not later than 335 A. D., and most probably about the last quarter of the third century

¹ Ibid., Introduction p. rxxiii.

² Ibid., Introduction, p. ziii.

A. D. 1 So. the date of the Matsya version also falls either in the last quarter of the 3rd or the first quarter of the 4th century A. D. The occasional crude style of the Matsua version and the agreement between the $V\bar{a}yu$ and $Brahm\bar{a}nda$ as regards the extended portion of the dynastic account need not go against the priority of the shorter account of the $V\bar{a}uu$. We have seen that the text of the $V\bar{a}yu$ was revised and emended more than once. Hence it is not at all improbable that the crude portions also should have been rewritten. Further, the Vāyu and Brahmānda were separated undoubtedly after the $V\bar{a}yu$ account had been extended to the rise of the Guptas and also even after the text of the Vayu had begun to be tampered with, for the Brahmünda not only contains the extended portion of the dynastic account of the $V\bar{a}yu$ but agrees more closely with the printed text of the $V\bar{a}yu$ than with the Ms ($eV\bar{a}yu$ of the India Office Library) referred to.

The view of Mr. Pargiter that the Bhavisya was subjected to two revisions in the early centuries of the Christian era2 is purely an assumption without any evidence in its support. The accounts in the three Puranas Matsya, Vayu, and Brahmanda also do not seem to have been compared at times, because in that case the readings of the Matsya, while agreeing more with those of the Ms e Vāyu would not have differed so much from those of the printed editions of the $V\bar{a}yu$, and the $Brahm\bar{a}nda$ and there would have been every possibility of extending the Matsya account to the rise of the Guptas.

We have seen above that the chapters of the second group in the Matsy i-P. (i. e. those chapters on genealogies of kings in the Matsya which are common to itself and the $V\bar{a}yu$) were borrowed from the Vayu about the last quarter of the 3rd century A. D. Now, the chapters of the first group (i.e. chapters 11-12, 23-24 and 43-46) may either be contemporane. ous with those of the second or they may hail from different ages. The close relation of contents of the chapters of the two groups, however, tends to point to the former alternative. In the first group, chapter 11 opens with a request to Sūta to describe the Solar and Lunar dynasties, and chapter 12 accordingly

Ibid., Introduction, p. xiii.
 Ibid., Introduction, p. xiii.

names the descendants of Iksvāku of the Solar dynasty. Next, the Lunar dynasty is taken up. Accordingly, in chapters 23-24 the story of the birth of Budha is narrated and his descendants down to Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru are named; and chapters 43-46 name the descendants of Yadu and give accounts of some of them. Let us now pass on to the second group, in which chapter 47 narrates the stories of the Yādavas, of Kṛṣṇa, of the wars between gods and demons, etc; chapter 48 names the descendants of Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu with their accounts; chapters 49-50 (verses 1-67) name the descendants of Puru down to Adhisomakṛṣṇa; chapter 50 (verses 68-end) names the future kings from Adhisomakṛṣṇa to Kṣemaka; and chapters 271-3 further continue the names and accounts of the future kings and races.

The above contents will show how closely the chapters of the two groups are related. Without the chapters of the second group, the accounts given by those of the first are incomplete, for the descendants of Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru are no less important than those of Yadu but are equally required for the fullness of the account. It is, therefore, highly probable that the original author, or rather compiler, of the present Mateya-P. wrote, or borrowed from some unknown source, the chapters of the first group and supplemented them with those of the second. Consequently, the date of the earlier form of the present Mateya-P. seems to be the same as that of Mateya's borrowing the chapters of the second group from the Vāyu i. e. about the last quarter of the 3rd or the first quarter of the 4th century A. D.

Let us now pass on to the Smrti-chapters, which form the major portion of the present Matsya-P. In this Purāna śrāddha is dealt with in chapters 16-22; vrata in chapters 7, 54-57, 60-66, 69 81 and 95-101; dāna in chapters 53, 82-92, 205-206 and 274-289; tīrtha in chapters 13 (verses 10-end), 22, 103-112 (on Prayāga-māhātmya), 180-185 (on Avimuktaksetra-māhātmya), and 186-194 (on Narmadā-māhātmya); āśrama-dharma in chapter 40; snāna in chapters 67, 68 and 102; pratiṣṭhā in chapters 58-59 and 264-270; strīdharma in chapter 7 (verses 37-49); naraka in chapter 39; grahayajña and śānti in chapters 93, 94 and 228-239; rāja-dharma in chapters 215-243; vyavahāra in chapter 227;

utsarga in chapter 207; yuga-dharma in chapters 142, 144, 145 and 165; prāyaścitta in chapter 227 (verses 34ff), and vāstu in chapters 252-257 and 268-270.

Before proceeding to discuss the dates of these chapters we should turn our attention to the chapters common to the *Matsya* and the *Padma-P*. (sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) in order to see whether the former borrowed these chapters from the latter or vice versa. The chapters common to the two Purāṇas are the following:-

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Mat. 5-6= Pad. 6
,, 7-9= ., 7
,, 10-12= , 8
,, 13 (verses 1-9) and 14-17= ,, 9
,, 18-21 = Pad. 10 (except verses 15-20a)
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Mat. 22 (except verses 1a and 2-10a) Pad.=11 (ex. verses 2-3 and 10-11a)

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Mat. 23 and 24 (verses 1-54) = Pad. 12 (verses 1-96)
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Mat. 43 (ex. verses
$$1-4$$
) = Pad. 12 (verses 97-end)

Mat. 44 (ex. verses 1-14a), 45-46, 47 (verses 1-181 ex. 9b and 10b-11a) = Pad. 13 (verses 1-279)

Mat. 100, 101 (ex. verses 70 and 73b-74a), and 102 (ex. verses 27b-30a) = Pad. 20 (ex. verses 1-3, 129, 136-9 and 171-2)

Mat. 81, 82 (ex. verses 23a-and 24), 83-92, 74-75. 76 (ex. verse 13) and 77-80 Pad. = 21

Mat. 61-64, and 66 = Pad. 22 (ex. verses 63 and 165-175)

Mat. 69-70 = Pad. 23

Mat. 71-72 = Pad. 24

Mat. 55 = Pad. 25 (ex. verses 34-37)

Mat. 57-58 = Pad. 26-27

Mat. 59 = Pad. 28 (ex. verses 23-end)

Mat. 60 = Pad. 29

Mat. 164 (ex. v rse 3), and 165-178 = Pad. 39-41

Mat. 146 (verses 41-end) = Pad. 42 (verses 5-40)

Mat. 147 (ex. verses 5b, 6b-9, 10b, 11b-14a and 15-16) = Pad. 42 (verses 41-59)

2 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Mat. 148 (ex. verses 1b, 4-6a, 8-10, 12-19, 22a, 25-37, 39b-41a, 44-50 53, 57-58a, 66-72, 85b-97) = Pad. 42 (verses 66-104, ex. 64, 68b-69, 74-75 and 87).

Mat. 153 (verses $222-228^a$) = Pad. 42 (verses 105-end, ex. 109b-110).

Mat. 154 (ex. verses 25-26, 29-31a, 51, 82, 127b, 173-174, 180b-181a, 196a, 200, 201b, 216, and so on) = Pad. 43 (ex. verses 5b, 10b, 16a, 17b, 30a, 226 and so on).

Mat. 155-160 (ex. verse 32) = Pad. 44 (ex. verse 125)

Mat. 161 (ex. verses 70b, 72b-73a, 78a and 87), 162 (ex. verses 35-38) and 163 (ex. verses 1-25a) = Pad. 45

Mat. 179 (verses 1-13a) = Pad. 46 (verses 1-4 and 73-81)

The multifarious subjects and stories dealt with in these chapters prove that they could not be based independently on tradition but one of them must have drawn upon the other, A comparison between the two Puranas, however, shows that the Padma (srsti) is the borrower. In those chapters which are common to the Vayu, Matsya and Padma (srsti), the Padma follows more the Matsya than the Vayu. We have seen above that the Matsya drew upon the $V\bar{a}yu$. So it stands that the Matsya first borrowed these common chapters from the Vayu and the Padma (srsti) next took them from the Matsya. A comparison of chapters common to the Harivamsa, Malsya and Padma (srsti) also shows that the Padma resembles more the Matsya than the Harivamsa. The reading "Puranam pauskare caiva mayā Dvaipāyanāc-chrutam" of Hv. III, 14 66" need not mislead us to hold that the Hv. was based on the Padma (srsti), for both the Matsya and the Padma (srsti, read "Purāņam purusaš-caiva mayā (Padma reads māyām) Visnur-Harih prabhuh" in the corresponding passages. Besides the above evidences there are also others to show that the Padma (sṛṣṭi) is the borrower. Both in Vāyu 9 (verses 9, 12, 15, 19 and 31) and Matsya 47 (verses 174, 179, 182, 186 and 197) Sukra, the preceptor of the Asuras, is said to have lived invisibly with Jayanti for ten years, whereas in Padma (srsti) 13

 $^{^1}$ Vayu 73 and 96-98, Matsya 14-15 and 47 and Padma (sṛṣṭi) 9 (verses 11-71) and 13 (verses 135-279)

² Hv. III, 41-47 and 7-14, Matsya 161-171 and Padma (srsti) chapters 45, 39 and 40.

(verses 274, 277 and 283) the period is lengthened to one hundred years. The occurrence of the words 'sata-varsāni 'and 'varsasatam' in three places in the Padma (srsti) shows that it is not due to the mistake of the scribes but is to be ascribed to the spirit of exaggeration of the people of later ages. Further, in some of the chapters of the Padma (srsti) which are traceable in the Matsya and the Visnu-P., the names of Visnu have been changed for those of Brahmā, while in others the names or glorifications of Visnu have been left unchanged. Even in those chapters wherein such changes have been made, there are marks left to testify to their originally Vaisnava character (ci. Padma, srsti, 7, 115-' Brahmādyā Visnu-sāyujyam tato yāsyanti vai nrpa; 9, 109; etc). Such Vaisnava character of these chapters shows that they did not belong to the Padma (srsti), which, we shall see afterwards, was originally meant for the revival of the Brahmā-worship. That the Padma (srsti) borrowed the common chapters from the Mateya does not seem to have been unknown to the early Smrti-writers. For example, Anirudhabhatta, who lived about 1150 A.D., quotes Padma (srsti) 10, 13b and refers to Padma (sṛṣṭi) 10, 15-20° saying "yat-tu Padma-Purāne-'sampūjya dvija-dāmpatvam nānābharana-bhūsitam'itv-evamantam Matsya-Purana-tulyam-abhidhay-adhikam śayya-danavidhānam-uktam tat pārvatīyānām-eva Kāmarūpādi-vāsinām Brāhmanādīnām-avasyānustheyam-iti tatraivoktam" (Hāralata, p. 199). The evidences adduced above are perhaps sufficient to prove that the Padma (srsti) is the borrower. It is probably due to this plagiarism of this Purana that it has been rarely drawn upon by the early Nibandha-writers.

Let us now proceed to discuss the dates of the Smṛti-chapters. We shall first take up the chapters (16--22) on śrāddha. These chapters were written by a Vaiṣṇava¹ and introduced into the Matsya-P. in connection with the Pitṛvaṃśa (the genealogy of the Pitṛs) given in chapters 13-15. The spurious character of all these chapters from 13-22 seems to be proved by their very position. At the outset of chapter 11 Sūta is requested to

¹ Cf. 'varjayet krodhaparatām smaran-Nārāyaṇam Harim'—16, 45b; ataḥ-param pravakṣyāmi Viṣṇunā yad-udīritam—17, 1b; ityāha Keśavaḥ—17, 30b; and so on.

narrate the Solar and Lunar dynasties. Chapter 12, accordingly dealing with the Solar race, ends thus "iti...Surya-vaméanukīrtanam nāma dvādašo'dhyāyah". But the Lunar race is taken up as late as in chapter 23. Hence the intervening chapters 13-22 seem to have been interpolated later on. The spurious character of these chapters is further proved by the fact that they are wholly unconnected and are introduced all on a sudden without any hint being given beforehand. So, their date is to be placed later than the first quarter of the 4th century A. D. Again, chapters 16-22 (dealing with sraddha) and chapters 13-15 (on Pitr-vamsa) do not appear to have hailed from the same date. At the beginning of chapter 13 Manu requests the Matsya to tell him about the Pitr-vamsa and the śrāddha-devatva of the Sun and the Moon. The latter accordingly narrates the Pitr-vamsa in chapters 13-15, refers to the Sun and the Moon in the course of chapter 15 (viz: in 15, 43° and 32²) and finishes saying:

"havişmatāmādhipatye śrāddha-devaḥ smṛto raviḥ, etad-vaḥ sarvam-ākhyātam Pitṛ-vaṃśānukīrtanaṃ, punyam pavitram-āyuṣyam kīrtaniyam sadā nrbhiḥ. '' (15, 43).

As in chapters 13-15 there is no reference to the chapters on śrāddha, as the Pitr-vamśa is complete in chapters 13-15, and as there is no second reference to the śrāddha-devatva of the Sun and the Moon anywhere in chap. 16-22, we may hold that chap. 13-15 formed a distinct unit by themselves and were originally not followed by any chapter or chapters on śrāddha. It is, therefore, probable that chap. 16-22 on śrāddha were interpolated later than chap. 13-15. If periods of at least 50 years each be allowed between the chapters on the genealogies of kings and chap. 13-15 and between the latter and chap. 16-22, then these chapters on srāddha can not possibly be earlier than the beginning of the 5th century A. D. Now, Devanabhatta quotes numerous verses from Matsya-P. chapters 15-19 and 22 in his Smrti-candrikā I and IV. Jimūtavāhana from chapters 17 and 22 in his Kāla-viveka, Aniruddha from chap. 18 in his Hāralatā, Ballālasena from chap. 22 in his Dana-sagara, Apararka from chap. 15-18 and 22 in his commentary on the Yājñavalkya-smrti, Haradatta from chap. 18 in his commentary on the Gautama-dharma-sūtra, Kullūkabhatta

from chap. 17 and 18 in his commentary on the Manu-smrti, Mādhavācārya from chap. 16, 17 and 18 in his Parāśarabhāsya, Madanapāla from chap. 16 and 17 in his Madana-pārijāta, Śridatta Upādhyāya from chap. 16 in his Krtyācāra, Candeśvara from chap. 17 in his Krtya-ratnākara, Nrsimha Vājapeyin from chap. 18 in his Nityācāra-pradīpa, and Govindānanda from chapters 15. 16, 17, 18 and 22 in his Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī and Śrāddha-kriyā-These quotations made by the Nibandha-writers from ka**umudī.** different parts of India, show that chap. 16-22 must be dated not later than 1000 A. D. Again, chap. 16-22 are among those which are found common to the Matsya and the Padma (srsti). The quotations made by the early Nibandha-writers like Aniruddhabhatta, Aparārka, Ballālasena, Devanabhatta and Srīdatta Upādhyāya, from the common chapters of the Padma (srsti) show that the Padma (srsti) borrowed these chapters so early that this Purapa, with its new additions, had sufficient time not only for circulation in all parts of India but also for replacing the earlier form of the Purana. If at least a century and a half be allowed for such effective circulation, then the lower limit of the date of borrowing is to be placed not later than about 950 A.D. Consequently, the common chapters of the Matsya are to be dated earlier still. As chap. 16-22 betray Vaisnava authorship it is probable that they come from the same date as the chapters on vows and gifts. 1

We shall now take up the chapters on vows, gifts, bath, etc. The position of chapters 51-270 between the chapters 43-50 on the one hand and chapters 271-273 on the other appears to prove their spurious character, for the latter two groups of chapters are inti-

If the word 'Brahmanya' used along with the words 'Siva-bhakta', 'Sūrya-bhakta' and 'Vaiṣṇava' in Matsya 16, 9-10 is taken to mean 'the worshipper of Brahmā', then we must admit that the worship of Brahmā was still prevalent, otherwise his worshippers would not have been classed with the 'paṅkti-pāvanas.' Hence Matsya 16-22 could not be later than 650 A. D. Though the Padma-P. (sṛṣṭi) reads 'Brāhmaṇa' in the corresponding line (cf. Pad sṛṣṭi, 9, 87b) the reading 'Brahmaṇa' of the Matsya is the correct one, for this latter reading is supported by Devaṇabhaṭṭa (Smṛti-candrikā IV, p. 156), Aparārka (p. 443) and Govindānanda (Śrāddha-Kriyū-kaumudī, p. 35). The change from 'Brahmaṇa' to 'Brāhmaṇa' made by the Padma (sṛṣṭi) is most probably due to the fact that in the just preceding line it changes 'Siva-bhakta' to 'Brahma-bhakta'.

mately connected with each other. The Lunar dynasty is taken up in chap. 23 and is described in chap. 23-24 and 43-50. In Matsya 50, 68-71 the sages request Sūta to tell them about the future kings and ages. In compliance with this request Sūta undertakes, in Matsya 50, 72-76, to speak on the future Kaliyuga and the manvantaras and also to give accounts not only of the future kings in the families of Ila, Iksvāku and Puru but also of the Andhras, Sakas, Yavanas, Pulindas, Kaivartas. Abhīras and others, who attained regal power. He then gives the list of the future kings of only the line of Puru in Matsya 50, 77 to end, the chapter ending thus:

"ityesa Pauravo vamśo yathāvad-iha kirtitah, dhimatah Pāṇḍu-putrasya Arjunasya mahātmanah" At the beginning of chapter 271 the sages say to Sūta: "Puror-vaṃśas-tvayā Sūta sa-bhavisyo niveditah, Sūrya-vaṃśe nrpā ye tu bhavisyanti hi tān vada"

and the latter continues to give lists and accounts of the other future kings and the future ages in accordance with the promise he makes in 50, 72-76. From all this it is quite evident that chapters 271-3 have been separated from chap. 50. Of course, this separation might be due to the misplacement of chap. 271-3 which is not quite unlikely. We should, therefore, turn our attention to other things. The internal evidences show that at least a good number of the chapter on dana, vrata, snana etc. were inserted into Matsya-P. at the same time. In Matsya 53, 1 the sages ask Sūta not only to enumerate the Purāṇas but also to "deal exhaustively with the piety of making gifts" (dānadharmam aseṣaṃ tu). Consequently, in chap. 53, 3ff Sūta speaks of the Purāṇas and Upa-Purāṇas and the gifts of these on particular occasions. Next, proceeding to speak on the gifts connected with vows and fasting in chapters 54ff, he begins saying:

"atahparam pravaksyāmi dāna-dharmān-asesatah i vratopavāsa-samyuktān yathā Matsyoditān-iha i Mahādevasya samvāde Nāradasya ca dhimatah ii "

The expression 'pravakṣyāmi dāna-dharmān-aṣeṣataḥ' is certainly used by Sūta in compliance with the request made by the sages in 53, 1. It, therefore, shows that chap. 53 and those chapters (viz: 54-57, 61, 68 and 83-92) on vratas and dānas (because the making of ceremonial gifts also is to be accompanied with

fasting) in which Mahadeva and Narada are the interlocutors are contemporaneous. The genuineness of these latter chapters need not be doubted, for, the request made by Nārada to Siva in 54, 4 to tell him how the Siva and Visnu-worshippers could attain health, beauty etc., shows that the chapters in which Mahadeva and Nārada are to be the interlocutors should be Saiva and Vaisnava; and in fact they are so with the only exception of chap. 61 (dealing with Agastya-pūjā). Chapters 83-92 were all inserted at the same time in a group, for they are all enumerated by Siva at the very beginning of these chapters (viz: in 83, 4-6). All these contemporaneous chapters (viz. 54-57, 61, 68 and 83-92) are interspersed by many others (viz. 58-60, 62-65, 66-67, 69-80 and 81-82) on vrata, pratistha, snana and dana in which the interlocutors differ 1. The unconnected position of these chapters and the breaches they create in the dialogue between Mahadeva and Nārada prove their comparatively late dates. In these comparatively late chapters, again, there are some which seem to date still later. These are chapters 65, 73 and 76. The list of contents of the Matsua given in chapter 291 does not mention the Aksaya-trtīyā-vrata (chap. 65). Guru-Sukra-pūjā-vidhi (chap. 73) and Visnu-vrata (chap. 99). Therefore, these seem to be later additions. This doubt is further strengthened by their absence from the Padma-P. (srsti-kh.). The late age of chap. 76 (dealing with the Phala-saptami-vrata) is evidenced by the nonmention of this vrata in Matsua 74, 2-3 wherein Siva names the Saura vratas he afterwards speaks of in chap. 74-5 and 77-80.

Thus we get three groups of chapters which are arranged in order of priority:

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1. Chap. 54-57 are told by Mahadeva to Narada.
                             Matsya to Manu.
          58-60
                             Mahādeva to Nārada.
            61
     ,,
                     97
                             Mahādeva (Īśvara ) to Umā.
          62-65
                     ,,
     99
          66-67
                             Matsya to Manu.
                             Mahādeva to Nārada.
            68 : -
     ,,
                             Siva to Brahmā.
          69-80
                             Matsva to Manu
          81-82
                      ,,
          83-92
                             Mahādeva to Nārada.
                      11
                             Vaisampayana to Saunaka.
             93
                             Siva to (?).
             94
                             Nandikeśvara to Nārada.
          95-112
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- (1) chap. 53, 54-57, 61, 68 and 83-92,
- (2) chap. 58-60, 62-64, 66-67, 69-72, 74-75, 77-80 and 81 - 82.

and (3) chap. 65, 73 and 76.

Now. Nrsimha Vājapeyin of Orissa quotes one verse from chap. 53 in his Nityācāra-pradipa; Govidānanda quotes a number of verses from chapters 53 and 58 in his $D\bar{a}na-kriy\bar{a}-kaumud\bar{i}$; Candesvara quotes the entire chapters 56 and 63 and also some verses from chapters 53, 61 and 70 in his Kriya-ratnākara; Madanapāla quotes verses from chapter 53 in his Mudana-pārijāta; Ballālasena quotes entire chapters 82-92 and also verses from chap. 53 in his Dāna-sāgara; Aparārka quotes almost the entire chapters 53, 58-59 and 82-92 in his commentary on the Yāiñavalkya-smrii; and Jimuta-vahana quotes a verse from chap. 53 in his Kālaviveka. These quotations made by the Nibandha-writers hailing from different parts of India, show that the chapters of at least the first two groups were inserted into the Matsya-P. much earlier than their times. Otherwise, such wide spread circulation of the Purana would have been impossible. So these chapters must be dated not later than 950 A. D. Again, many of the chapters of the first and second groups and chap. 76 of the third group have been borrowed by the Padma--P. (srsti) from the Mateya. We have said that this borrowing took place not later than about 950 A.D. Hence the date of the chapters of the Matsua, including chap. 76, are to be placed earlier still and most probably not later than at least 900 A. D. We have said above that chap. 76 (on Phala-saptami-vrata) was added later than chap. 74--5 and 77-80 which belong to the second group. Hence the date of at least these chapters of the second group and consequently also of those of the first, is to be placed further up. The acala-danas (gifts of hillocks,-chap. 83-92) require the images of Brahmā, Visnu and Śiva which are to be placed on the artificial hillocks to be given away (cf. 83, 15 and 91.5) and in 58, 24 Brahmā is found to be worshipped equally with the other two gods of the triad. These evidences show that the worship of Brahma did not die out at the time of insertion of these chapters. Varāha-mihira's mention of only the most

prominent sects of his time 'shows that the Brahmā-worship was still popular. If, as scholars hold, this god was thrown into the back ground about the beginning of the 7th century A. D., then the date of chap. 58 and the chapters on acaladāna can not be placed later than 650 A. D. Thus we get the lower limit.

The mention of the names of the week-days in connection with the vratas etc. (cf. 55, 4; 57, 4; 64, 5; 70, 33; etc.) shows that these were well-known when these chapters were added. The earliest dated mention of a week-day being traced in the Eran inscription of 484 A.D. these chapters should not be placed very much earlier than this date. Matsya 53, 46-7 describe the Kūrma-P. in its Vaisnava form. As we have shown that the Vaisnava $K\overline{u}_r ma-P$, was written between 550 and 650 A. D. 2 this chapter can not be earlier than 550 A.D. The mention of the ten incarnations of Visnu during the worship of the Naksatra-purusa in Matsya 54 (dealing with the Naksatra-purusa-vrata) and their total absence in Brhat-samhitā, chap. 105 (dealing with the same vrata) prove the later date of the former. The Brhat-samhita was written about 550 A. D. Therefore, the date of Matsya 54 is later than 550 A.D. The inclusion of Buddha, in Matsya 54 (on Naksatra-purusa-vrata), among the ten incarnations of Visnu also shows that this chapter could not have been written earlier than 550 A. D. The Mahābhārata does not mention the Buddha incarnation though it mentions Kalki in one of the spurious verses in XII, 141. Mārkandeya-Parāna chap. 4 names a few incarnations beginning with Varāha and ending with Māthura (i e. Kṛṣṇa), there being no mention of Buddha. The Viṣṇu-P.

Brhat-samhitā 60, 19.

The mention of only the Bhāgavatas, and not the Pāñcarātras, among the worshippers of Viṣṇu shows that Varāha-mihira mentions only the most powerful sects of his time. We know that the Bhāgavatas grew in power under the Gupta emperors who called themselves 'parama-bhāgavata'.

Viṣṇor-Bhāgavatān Magāṃś-ca Savituḥ Sambhoḥ sa-bhasma-dvijān Mātṛṛŋām-api Mātṛ-maṇḍala-vido viprān vidur-Brahmaṇaḥ | Sākyān sarvahitasya śānta-maṇaso Nagnān Jinānāṃ vidur ye yam devam-upäśritāḥ sva-vidhinā tais-tasya kāryā kriyā ||

[?] This essay on the Kurna-P. has been published in the June issue of the Indian Historical Quarterly, 1935.

^{3 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

(about 300 A.D.) mentions Kalki but not Buddha. The Harivamśa (about 400 A. D.) also does not mention Buddha though it mentions Kalki. The lists of incarnations, or rather manifestations, of the Brahma-P. are the same as those in the $M\bar{a}rk \cdot ndeya$ -P and the Hari-vamta. The Jayākhya-samhitā (about 450 A.D.) of the Pancaratras does not name Buddha. The Ahirbudhnyasamhitā which is certainly later than the Jayākhya, mentions 39 Vibhavas in which Kalki is one but the name of Buddha is wanting. Thus the Buddha incarnation seems to have been unknown to the beginning of the sixth century A. D. Matsy: 47, 247, which mentions Buddha, is undoubtedly a later interpolation, for there is no mention of Buddha in the corresponding verse of the $V\bar{a}yu$. Now, the mention of the Buddha incarnation in the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva (about the end of the 12th century), the Daśāvatāra-carita of Ksemendra (11th century A. D.), a hymn by Nammalvar (alias Saint Satagopa, 9th century), the Vispupura cards (end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century), a Pallava inscription of about the latter half of the 7th century A. D. 1 and the Bhagavata-P. shows that this incarnation attained popularity by the beginning of the 7th century A. D. It is highly probable, therefore, that Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Visnu from about 550 A. D. That during this time the founders of the heretical religions came to be identified with Visnu is shown by the Brhat-samhitā (58, 45) according to which the image of the god of the Arhats (Arhatam devah) is to be marked with the Śri-vatsa.

From what has been said above it appears that the chapters of the first two groups were written not earlier than 550 and not later than 650 A. D.

Of the chapters of the third group, chap. 76 is, as we have seen, later than the chapters (74-5 and 77-80) of the second group. As it is found in the Padma-P. (systi), it is earlier than 950 A.D. The other two chapters (viz. 65 and 73) are neither mentioned in the list of contents of the Matsya given in chap. 291

¹ H. Krishna Shastri, the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India Vol. 26, p. 5.

nor in the *Padma-P*. (sṛṣṭi). They are also not drawn by any Nibandha-writer. Therefore, they may be taken to be very late additions.

Mateya chap. 7, verses 6-30 deal with the Madanadvādaśl-vrata observed by Diti for getting a son capable of killing the enemies of the Daityas. As in none of the other Purāṇas Diti is found to observe this vow, this portion of Mateya 7 seems to have been interpolated later on. This interpolation was most probably made not later than 900 A. D., for these verses also occur in the Padma-P. (srsti).

Matsya 95-101 deal with vratas - Saiva, Saura and Vaisnava. All of these chapters do not seem to have come from the same date. In Matsya 95 Siva, the speaker in the earlier chapters on vrata and dāna, refers Nārada to Nandikeśvara, who is to speak on the 'Mahesvara-dharma'. Consequently, Narada asks Nandikesyara to tell him about 'Mahesvara-vrata,' and the latter describes the 'Siva-caturdasi-vrata' (chap. 95) and the 'Sarvaphala-tyāga-vrata' (chap. 96) both of which are Śaiva. But in chap. 97-112, which also are ascribed to Nandikeśvara the Saura and Vaisnava vratas and Prayaga-mahatmya are treated of. Hence these chapters (97-112) must have been added by the non-Saivas later than chap. 95-96. The strictly Saiva character of chapters 95-96, as contrasted with those chapters on vrata and dana in which Siva and Narada are the interlocutors, and the fact that Nandikesvara, the narrator in chap. 95-96, is introduced to Nārada by Śiva, show that chap. 95-96 were added by a Saiva later than those chapters in which Siva and Nārada are the interlocutors. Therefore, these two chapters (95-96) can not be dated earlier than 600 A. D. Now, Candesvara quotes a few verses from chap. 95 and 101 in his Kṛtya-ratnākara, Madanapāla from chap. 101 in his Madana--pārijāta, and Devanabhatta from chap. 101 in his Smrti-candrika II. These quotations show that chap. 95 and 101 are to be dated earlier than 1100 A. D. Chap. 100 and 101 have been borrowed by the Padma-P. (sṛṣṭi). Therefore, these two chapters should not be placed later than about 900 A. D. The Bhavisya-P. also has borrowed chap. 95-100. Hence the dates of Matsya chapters 95--101 fall between 600 and 900 A.D. Chap. 95-96 being earlier than chapters 97-101, the former should be dated in the former part and the latter in the latter part of this period.

Matsya chapters 205-206 on gifts and chap. 207 on the dedication of bulls (vṛṣotsarga') seem to have been misplaced. Chapter 115 opens thus:

Manur -uvāca

caritam Budha-putrasya Janārdana mayā śrutam i śrutaḥ śrāddha--vidhiḥ puṇyaḥ sarva--pāpa-praṇāśanaḥ ii dhenvāḥ prasūyamānāyāḥ phalam dānasya me śrutam i kṛṣṇājina--pradānam-ca vṛṣotsargas--tathaiva ca i śrutvā rūpam narendrasya Budha--putrasya Keśava i kautūhalam samutpannam tan-mamācaksya pṛcchataḥ ii

etc. etc.

This opening shows that this chapter was immediately preceded by the story of Pururavas (the son of Budha) in which he was praised for his physical beauty, and also by chapters on śrāddha, prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna, kṛṣṇājina-dāna and vṛṣotsarga. Now. the story of Pururavas is found in chap. 24 (verses 11-32), śrāddha in chap. 16-22, prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna in chap. 205, Krsnājina-dāna in chap. 206 and vrsa-laksana in chap. 207. That Matsya 24 (11-32), dealing with the story of Pururavas, is aimed at by the expression 'caritam Budha-putrasya..... etc.' is shown by the fact that it is in this portion (viz. 24, 12) that Purūravas is called very beautiful so much so that Urvasi, the divine nymph, falls in love with him. There are also other evidences to show that chap. 205-207 immediately followed the chapters (16-22) on śrāddba. Matsya 204, in which the Pitr-gathas only are laid down but which ends with the verse "etāvad-uktam tava bhūmi-pāla śrāddhasya kalpam muni-sampradistam etc' points to chap. 16-22 termed ' śrāddha-kalpa ' and is, therefore, a continuation of these chapters. The mention of the prasuyamana-dhenu-dana, krsnajinadana and vrsotsarga in this chapter (i. e. chap. 204) shows that it preceded chap. 205-207 dealing with these topics. Hence the real order of these misplaced chapters seems to have been as follows:

Chap. 16-22, chap. 204-207, chap. 24 and chap. 115-120. This order is supported by the *Visnu-dharmottara* which borrows.

among others, the chapters 207 (24^b -end) and 115-120 from the Ma'sya and in which the story of Purūravas is immediately preceded by vṛṣotsarga. ¹

We have seen above that chap. 205-207 stand in close connection with the chap. (16-22) on śrāddha. This connection shows that the former could by no means be earlier than the latter, and it is highly probable that these two groups of chapters come from the same date. That chap. 205-207 were inserted into the Matsya earlier than 1100 A. D. is doubtless, for Govindānanda quotes verses from chapters 205-207 in his Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī and Śuddhi-kriyā-kaumudī, Śūlapāṇi quotes two lines from chap. 206 in his Prāyaścitta-viveka, Ballālasena quotes the entire chapters 205 (except verse 1) and 206 (except the last verse) and three verses from chap. 207 in his Dāna-sāgara, and Aparārka quotes chap. 205 (ex. verse 1) and 206 (except the first and last verses) in his commentary on Yāj.

Matsya 274-289 deal with the sixteen mahādānas (great gifts) which, requiring the worship of Viṣṇu, are certainly Vaiṣṇava in character. The mention of these 16 mahādānas in chap. 274 (4-10) shows that all of the chapters 274-289 come from the same date. These chapters are frequently drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers early and late. Govindānanda quotes verses from Matsya 274 in his Śuddhi-kriyā-kaumudī, Ballālasena gives the entire chapters 274-289 in his Dāna-sāgara, and Aparārka quotes chapters 274 (ex. verses 3², 13b and 28b), 275 (ex. the last verse), 277 (ex. the last verse), 278 (ex. the last verse), 279, 280 (ex. the last verse) and 281-289 in his commentary. These quotations show that these chapters must be dated not later than 1050 A. D. The Linga-Purāna deals with the mahādānas in II,

¹ Vide Visnu-dharmottara I, 146, 41b-end and I, 148-154 (verse: 1-7) which are the same as Matsya 207 (24b-end) and 115-120 respectively.

The Viṣṇu-dharmottara is suspected to be the borrower for the following reasons:

⁽¹⁾ In the Viṣṇu-dh. the story of Pururavas is further continued to chap. 156.

⁽²⁾ Though the opening verses of Viṣṇu-dh.I, 148 are the same as those of Matsya 115, in the former there is no chapter on prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna or kṛṣṇājina-dāna preceding chap. 148.

⁽³⁾ In the Viṣṇu-dh, the chapters on vṛṣotsarga and the story of Purūrayas are introduced almost abruptly.

28ff. Ballālasena says that the mahādānas dealt with in the Linga were based on those of the Matsya. As in the Linga the mahādānas were inserted before the time of Ballālasena the chapters (274-289) of the Matsya should be dated earlier still and reasonably not later than 1000 A. D. The references to the worship of the images of Brahmā during the different mahādānas prove that the worship of the god was still popular. So these chapters (274-289) can not be dated later than 650 A. D. The ten incarnations of Viṣnu including Buddha and Kalki being mentioned in Matsya 285, 7, these chapters can not be dated earlier than 550 A. D. Therefore, their date falls between 550 and 650 A. D.

Let us now take up the chapters on tirtha. Matsya 13, verses 10-end describe, quite incoherently, the story of the self-immolation of Sati, the daughter of Daksa, in which she is appeased to name the numerous holy places sacred to herself. The position of these verses in chapters 13 (dealing with the Pitrs) and their obvious Śākta character testify to their late date. Their late age is further proved by their mention of Rādhā in 13, 38 (Rādhā Bṛndāvane vane) and their position in the Padma-P. (sṛṣṭi). Though chap. 9 of this Purāṇa is the same as Matsya 13 (verses 1-9) and 14-17, these verses which are included in Matsya 13, are found in the Padma-P. (sṛṣṭi) as late as in 17, 182-216^a. Hence we may be sure that these verses were taken by the Sāktas from a common source and interpolated independently in those parts of these two Purāṇas which the interpolators thought suited for them.

Chapters 103-112 (on Prayaga-mahatmya) of the *Matsya* are later than $K\bar{u}rma-P$. I, 35-38 which again, can not be dated earlier than 750, or rather 800 A. D. Hence the chapters of the

¹ 'brhad-api Linga-Purānam Matsya-Purānoditair-mahādānaih......etc. Dānasāgara, fol. 3b.

² Brahmā, Šiva and Viṣṇu are to be worshipped on the altar constructed during the tulā-puruṣa-mahādāna, etc. (Matsya 274, 30); in the kalpa-pādapa-mahādāna, the kalpa-pādapa is to be placed on a heap of coarse sugar (guḍa) with Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Šiva and Sūrya (Matsya 277, 6); the images of Brahmā and Anantaśakti are to be placed on a heap of salt in hema-kalpa-latā-dāna (Matsya 286, 6); and the golden image of Brahmā is to be placed on salt during the sapta-sagara-dāna (Matsya 287, 7).

Matsya should be dated not earlier than 850 A.D. As most of these chapters are profusely drawn upon by Vācaspatimišra and Candesvara they are certainly not later than 1250 A.D.

The chapters on Prayāga-māhātmya (told by Mārkandeya to Yudhisthira) are not free from interpolations, for there are evidences which go against the authenticity of at least verses 1-17 of chap. 112. Though upto Mateya 112, 17 the sage Mārkandeya is nowhere said to have parted with Yudhisthira, in Mateya 112, 4 the former is said to have come to the latter, blessed him and then repaired to his hermitage. This is quite contradictory. Again in Mateya 112, 18 Nandikešvara says "ityuktvā sa mahābhāgo Mārkandeyo mahātapāh,

Yudhişthirasya nrpates-tatraivāntar-adhīyata." The word ity-uktvā' would have been meaningless if the preceding verses were not spurious, for they are spoken by Vāsudeva. Hence it follows that *Matsya* 112, 1-17 are interpolated.

Matsya 180-185 (on Avimuktaksetra or Benares) come from a fairly early date. A comparison between these chapters and $K\overline{u}$ rma-P. I, 30-34 (on Benares) shows that the former are earlier than the latter. Though in both the Puranas (Matsya 181, 6-7 and Kūrma I, 30, 16) the Avimuktaksetra-māhātmya is said to have been told by Siva to Uma on the mount Meru, the chapters of the latter consist of the glorification of some Siva-lingas, viz. Omkāra, Krttivāsešvara, Madhyamešvara, etc., at Benares. They also contain some fanciful stories about the origin or power of these lingas. Besides these, there is a story glorifying the Piśāca-mocana-kunda lying near the Kapardisvara linga. These names and stories, which are undoubtedly of later origin, are not found in the Mateya. Now, Kūrma I, 30-34 are dated not later than the middle of the 13th century A.D. Therefore. chapters 180-185 of the Matsya should not be placed later than 1200 A. D. As Govindananda quotes verses from chap, 184 in his Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī, Vācaspatimiśra from chap. 180-184 in his Tirtha-cintāmani, Madanapāla from chap. 184 in his Madana-pārijāta, Mādhavācārya from the same chap, in his Parāśara-bhāsya and Aparārka from chap. 184 in his commentary on $Y\bar{a}i$, we may be sure that chapters 180-185 were inserted into the Matsua not later than at least 1075 A.D. The

strictly Saiva character of these chapters tends to show that they were added later than 700 A. D.

Matsya 186-194, on Narmadā-māhātmya, must have been composed by a Śaiva living somewhere about the northern bank of the Narmadā. These chapters must have been interpolated at a very late date. They seem to be later than $K\bar{u}rma-P$. II, 33-39, which, again, are later than 800 A. D. Their late date seems further to be proved by the fact that no Nibandhawriter has been found to draw upon them.

Matsya 39 and 40, treating respectively of naraka and asrama-dharma, are included in the story of Yayati extending over chap. 25-43. This story seems to have been interpolated later on, because the Padma-P. (srsti) in which Matsya chapters 5-24 and 44ff are found borrowed in the same order, omits this story. As no Nibandha-writer has been found to quote from these chapters, we are not sure about the lower limit of their date.

Snāna is dealt with in *Matsya* chapters 67-68 and 102. Of these, chapters 67 and 68 have already been dated between 550 and 650 A. D. Chap. 102, being drawn upon by Govindānanda in his *Suddhi-kriyā-kaumudī* and by Devnabhatta in his *Smṛti-candrikā* II, can not be dated later than 1100 A. D. As this chapter has been borrowed by the *Padma* (sṛṣṭi), it should not be placed later than 950 A. D. It has been shown above that chap. 97-112 are later than chap. 95-96 which, again, are later than 600 A. D. Therefore, chap. 102 cannot possibly be earlier than 650 A. D. Thus the date of this chapter falls between 650 and 950 A. D.

Pratisthā (consecration) is the subject matter of Matsya 58-59 and 264-270. Of these the former two have been dated between 550 and 650 A.D. The latter two chapters, dealing with the consecration of the images of gods, are certainly contemporaneous with chap. 258-263 in which the characteristics of the different images of gods have been laid down. A comparison between Brhot-samhitā chap. 58 (dealing with pratimā-lakṣaṇa) and Matsya

¹ Cf. chap. 186, verses 8a, 10, and 11 in which the Narmadā is glorified even over the Ganges, Yamunā and Sarasvatī. Also of. 186, 52a; 190, 1f etc. wherein the northern bank of the Narmadā is said to be equal to the Rudraloka. The Saiva character of these chapters is quite obvious.

258-270 show that the former must be earlier than the latter. The *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* names the following gods with their respective characteristics.

(1) Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, (2) Bali, the son of Virocana, (3) Baladeva, the carrier of the plough, (4) Devi (i. e. Lakṣmi), (5) Śāmba, (6) Pradyumna, (7) the two wives of Śāmba and Pradyumna, (8) Brahmā, (9) Skanda, (10) Mahendra, (11) Śambhu, (12) Buddha (for the Buddhists), and (13) the god of the Arhats (for the Jains).

The Matsya-P. omits (3), (6), (7), (12) and (13) but adds the following: Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Rudra, Ardha-nārīśvara, Umā-Maheśvara, Śiva-Nārāyaṇa, Vināyaka, Kātyāyani, Agni, Yama, Nairta, Varuna, Vāyu, Kuvera. Gadādhara, the Mātrs (viz: Brahmāni, Māheśvari, Kaumari, Vaisnavi, Vārāhi, Indrāni, Yogeśvari, Cāmundā, and Kālikā) and Kusumāyudha. The innovations made in the chapters of the Matsya prove that they can not be earlier than 550 A.D. As Aparārka quotes verses from chap. 265 and 267, they can not be later than 1100 A.D. The retention of Brahma by the Matsya inspite of its additions and alterations in the list of gods given by the Brhat-samhita, shows that the Brahma-worship did not die out. Moreover, according to the Matsya, the priest is required to be 'Brahm-opendra-Hara-priya' (Matsya 265, 7); the Brāhma mantras are to be used in consecrating the image of Brahmā (Matsua 267, 39); and the gods, who are to be summoned at the time of consecrating the image of any god, include Brahmā (Matsya 267, 42). All these references prove the popularity of the Brahma-worship at the time when Matsya 258-270 were written. Hence these chapters are to be dated earlier than about 650 A. D., and thus their date falls between 550 and 650 A. D.

Matsya chapter 7, verses 37-49 lay down the duties of pregnant women. These verses, being vitally connected with the story of the birth of the Maruts, appear to come from the date when the extant Matsya-P. was first written or compiled. That they are not later than 1100 A. D. and most probably also than 950 A. D. is shown by the quotations made from them by Devanabhatta in his Smṛti-candrikā I and by the occurrence of these verses in the Padma (srsti).

^{4 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Matsya 215-243 and 252-257, treating of raja-dharma, grahayajña, adbhuta-śānti, yātrā-kāla-vidhāna, subhāsubha-nirūpana. vāstu and vvavahāra, must have come from the same date, because all these are meant for the king. The determination of even their approximate date is rather difficult. That they are not later than 1000 A. D. is sure, for Bhavadeva quotes verses from chap. 227 in his Prāyaścitta-prakarana, Aparārka from chap. 253 in his commentary on $Y\bar{a}j$, Devenable that from chap. 227 in his Smrti-candrikā I, and Ballālasena from chap. 228-238 in his Adbhuta-sagara. The reference to the unpopularity of the worship of Brahmā in Matsya 225, 12-14, wherein it is said that the people worshipped the fierce (dandinah-punishing) gods Rudra, Agni, Sūrya, Visnu and others instead of the mild (praśanta-serene) Brahma, Pūsan and Aryaman, shows that Matega 215-243 and 252-257 can not possibly be dated earlier than 600, or rather 650, A D.

Matsya 93 and 94 deal with graha-santi and graharūpākhyāna respectively. These chapters are certainly not later than 1000 A. D., because Śūlapāni quotes two lines from chap. 93 in his Vrata-kāla-viveka, Devanabhatta quotes a verse from chap. 93 in his Smrti-candrikā II. Aparārka quotes the entire chap. 94 and a good number of verses from chap. 93 in his commentary, the Trikānda-mandana has one verse from chap. 93, and Vijnānesyara quotes the entire chap. 94 in his Mitaksarā (under Yāi I. 297-298^a). The interlocutors (viz. Vaisampāyana and Saunaka in chap. 93 and Siva alone in chap. 94), who appear abruptly without any introduction but who are not found in the chapters preceding or following chap. 93 and 94, prove that these two chapters are later than at least those chapters on vrata and dana in which Siva and Nārada are the interlocutors. These latter chapters we assigned to 550-650 A. D. Therefore, chap. 93-94 can not be earlier than about 650 A.D. Thus their date falls between 650 and 1000 A. D.

Yuga-dharma is dealt with in chapters 142, 144, 145 and 165. Of these, the former three are the same as $V\bar{a}yu$ 57 (verses 1-85), 58 and 59 respectively. They most probably come from the time when the extant Matsya-P. borrowed some of its chapters from the $V\bar{a}yu$. Their position between Matsya 50 and 271-3 (on the future dynasties and ages) must be due to misplacement. Matsya 165,

which has been borrowed by the Padma (sṛṣṭi), should be dated not later than about 950 A. D.

In the foregoing pages we have tried to determine the dates of the different Smrti-chapters of the Matsya-P. The results of our investigation are given below in a tabular form:—

Chapters	Periods of insertion
16-22	400-950 A. D. Probably between 550 and 650 A. D.
53, 54-57, 61, 68 and 83-92	550-650 A. D.
58-60, 62-65, 66-67, 69-72, 74 -75, 77-80 and 81-82	550-650 A. D. (comparatively later than the chaps. in the second group).
76	650-950 A. D.
65 and 73	Uncertain. Surely much later.
7 (verses 6-30)	Most probably not later than
(010000)	900 A. D.
95-96 and 97-101	600-900 A. D. The former two
	chaps, are earlier than the
75	latter.
205-207	Not earlier than 400 A, D. and
	not later than 1100 A. D.
	Probably between 550 and
	650 A. D.
274-289	550-650 A. D.
13 (verses 10 -end)	Late interpolation.
103-112	850-1250 A. D.
180-185	700-1075 A. D.
186-194	Very late (later than 800 A. D.)
39-4 0	Late but uncertain.
102	650-950 A. D.
258-270	550-650 A D.
7 (verses37-49)	Not later than 950 A. D. Most
	probably as old as the date
	of composition of the ex-
	tant Matsya.
215-243 and 252-257	650-1000 A. D.
93-94	650-1000 A. D.

Chapters	Periods of insertion
142, 144 and 145	Most probably the same as the date of composition of the extant Matsya.
165	Probably not later than 950 A. D.

In connection with the Smrti-chapters we should like to say a few words on the date and authenticity of some of the remaining chapters. Matsya 52, dealing with karma-yoga, recommends the worship of Brahmā, Visnu, Śiva and Sūrya, who are to be considered as not different from one another (Matsya 52, 23f.). author of this chapter seems to be a Visnu-worshipper, for he defines Vāsudeva as 'atindriya,' 'santa', 'sūksma', 'avyakta', 'sanātana 'and 'jagan-mūrti 'and calls Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya and others his 'vibhūti'. Therefore, the date of this chap, can not possibly be later than 650 A. D. The story of Pururayas in chap. 115-120 is of comparatively late origin. It says how Pururavas, the son of Budha, attained extraordinary physical beauty by fasting on every dvādašī tithi and by worshipping Visnu in the Himālayas respectively in two of his previous births. Ballālasena's quotation of Matsya 115, 14 in his Dāna-sāgara (fol. 23^a), however, shows that chap. 115-120 are at least not later than 1100 A. D. The story of Savitri in chap. 208-214, on account of its innovations befitting later taste, can be taken to be a late interpolation. It says that Asvapati, king of Madra, worshipped the goddess Savitri and was gifted with a daughter who was consequently named after the goddess, and that four days before the death of Satyavan, Savitri fasted for three days and observed the Savitri-vrata. Besides these there are also other innovations.

From what has been said above about the dates of the different chapters of the *Matsya-P*. it appears that this Purāna was subjected to additions, and also perhaps to alterations, more than once. That some of its chapters have been lost is shown by the quotations made by Devanabhatta and Aparārka on dāna and ekādasī-upavāsa. In the extant *Matsya* there is no chapter treating of these topics.

The extant Maisya-P. seems to have been written, or rather complied, originally by the Vaisnavas. At least this impression is created by the earlier portians that have been retained. In Maisya 1, 23-25 the supernatural power which the Fish displays in rapid growth and huge size is said to be possible only with Vāsudeva, for, Manu says, 'none other than he can be such'; Maisya 9, 39 says that at the end of each thousand years the Manus perish and Brahmā and other gods (Brahmādyāḥ) attain the proximity of Viṣṇu; in Maisya 23, 17 Nārāyana is called 'Paramātman'; in Maisya 24 (verses 11, 36 etc.) many ancient kings, viz. Purūravas, Raji and others, are said to have practised austerity for the favour of Viṣṇu; and so on. In the verses referred to above Viṣṇu has been assigned the highest position, and these seem to be the traces of the original Vaiṣṇava character of the Maisya.

On the strength of the great prominence given to the region about the Godavari in Matsya 114, 37-39 (on geography) it has been suggested that the place of composition of the Matsya-P. was Nasik 1. This suggestion seems to have a very weak basis, for these verses of the Matsya tally with Vayu 45, 112-114, and we have seen that the Matsya borrowed some chapters from the $V\bar{a}uu$. The close agreement between the majority of the geographical chapters in the two Puranas seems to confirm the indebtedness of the Matsya to the $V\bar{a}yu$. Hence to find out the place of origin of the present Matsya we shall have to look to those of its original chapters which have not been found to be borrowed from any other work. Such a one is chap 2. In it the river Narmada, and not the famous Ganges, is said to remain even after the destruction of the world (Matsya 2, 13). Elsewhere, in chap. 15 (which most probably comes from a little later date) this river "which flows through the Deccan" is called the ' mānasī kanyā ' of the Somapa Pitrs living in the Mānasa loka (Matsya 15, 25-28). These passages tend to show that the Matsya-P. was composed and circulated by some Vaisnava living somewhere about the river Narmada.

¹ Hara Prasāda Sāstrī, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, Preface, p. 190.

We give below a list of those verses quoted by the comparatively early Nibandha-writers from the 'Matsya-Purāna' which we have been able to trace in the Vangavāsi edition of the same Purāna.

```
Matsya-P.
(1) Smrti-cur drikā
                                     Smrti-candrikā
                                                             Matsua-P.
of Devanabhatta)
                                        291
                                                   17, 23
                                              =
                T
                                                   19, 4-11a (except 4b
                                        298
            7.37^{b}-38^{a}:40^{b}:44^{b}
p. 46
                                                      and 5a)
                                        340
                                                   17, 28<sup>b</sup>
                     -45^{a}: 46-47.
                                              =
                                                   17, 40b-41
                                        358
 157
            17, 6-8.
                                                  17.47b
 180
            18, 30.
                                        375
                                              ==
       =
                                              = 17,49^{b}
                                        388
               II
 296
       ==
           102, 13.
                                        389 \text{ (twice)} = 16,47^a \text{ and } 17,
           101, 37.
 322
       =
                                                       53^{2}-55 (ex. one
 419
       =
            93. 111.
                                                        line after verse
           102, 2-8.
 486
            102, 9b-10a
 487
       =
                                                  17, 61<sup>b</sup>
 517
            102, 14-21 & 23<sup>b</sup>
                                        409 =
                                                  17, 62
               III
                                                  16, 56-57ª
                                        412 =
ii. 481 = 227, 146^a (the other
                                        438-439 = 17,69
                   line differs)
                                      (2) Prāyaścitta-prakarana
               TV
                                            (of Bhavadeva)
           17, 4-5^{2}
  28
                                          p. 5 = 227, 118^{b}-120^{a}
           17, 6-8.
  29
       =
                                      (3) Kāla-viveka
  53, 72, 76, 77-78-On ekādaśī
                                      (of Jīmūta-vāhana)
  82 = 22, 84
                                       p. 101 = 17, 9
  83 \text{ (twice)} = 16, 21; 22, 85
                                       292 = 61.49^{2} (the other
  84 \text{ (twice)} = 22,83 \text{ and } 88
                                                    line is not found )
121 = 22,88
156 \text{ (twice)} = 16,8^{\text{b}}-10^{\text{a}};\text{(other)}
                                       304
                                                  (this is same
                                             =
                                                    Brahma-P. 220, 14)
        quotation is not found)
                                                  274, 19b-22a
191 = 16.19^a
                                       321
                                                  22, 83
 194-195 = 16, 19^{b}-20
                                       369
                                             =
                                                  22,88
215 =
           15, 39<sup>2</sup> (the first line
                                       370
                                             =
            is not found)
                                       391
                                                  (the same as Bra-
255
           17, 30
      =
                                                  hma-P. 220, 53^{b}-54)
           15, 37b-38a
265
      =
                                       400
                                                  17, 4<sup>a</sup> (the other
                                             =
270-271 = 16, 27^{b}-28^{a}
                                                    line is not found)
           16.28^{b}-29^{a}
271
                                                  17, 9
                                       418
                                             =
272
      = 19.4^{\circ}
290-291 = 17.14^{b}-15^{a}
                                                  17, 5<sup>b</sup>-8
                                       520
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(4) Hāralatā Matsy 1-P.	Dina-Sagara Matsya-P.
(of Aniruddha)	fol. $90^{2}-90^{6}$ = chap. 89
p. $98 = 18, 30$	$31^{a}-91^{b} = 390$
162 = 18, 5-7	$92^a - 92^b = 91$
$198 = 18, 12^{b} - 14^{a}$	$, 93^a - 93^b = , 92$
•	(ex. verses 17-33)
(5) Mwākṣarā Matsya-P.	$, 94^{2} - 95^{2} = , 82$
(of Vijñāneśvara)	(ex. verses
under Yāj. I, 297-298 ^a = Chap. 94	1, 20 ^a , 23 ^a ,
	24 & 26-31)
(6) Dāna-sāgara Matsya-P	$,, 115^{a}-115^{b} = ,, 205$
(of Ballālasena)	0.00000000000000000000000000000000000
folio $6^a = 274, 1$	$", 117^{2}-117^{2} = ", 207, 10-12$
$15^{b}-16^{a} = 22, 27^{b}-28, 30^{b}$	101b_102b 52
	3-4 and 11-56
36, 49–5 5 °, 57–59,	2024_20ab _ 200
68, 73 ^b -75 ^a , 71 ^a	" 2 -1 9
$,, 18^{a} = 206, 23^{b} - 24^{a}$	$^{\circ}$, $214^{a}-215^{b} = \text{chap. } 206,$
$,, 23^{2} = 115, 14$	(except the
$^{\circ}_{\circ}$, 27^2-31^6 = Chap. 274	last verse)
20b_41a — Chan 205	(7) Commentary Matsya-P.
19b_112 - 976	on the Manu-Smṛṭi
$45^{b}-46^{b} = 977$	(by Kullükabhatta)
$\frac{3}{10}$, $\frac{1}{48^{b}}$ $\frac{1}{50^{a}}$ = $\frac{3}{10}$ $\frac{278}{10}$	Under Manu III, $265 = 17, 61$
$,, 52^{a}-53^{a} = , 279$	$,, \qquad , V, 60 = 18, 30$
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	(8) Commentary Matsya-P.
$58b-50^2 = 989$	on the Yājñavalkya-smṛti
$^{"}61^{2}-62^{2} = ^{"}283$	(by Aparārka)
$", 63^{b}-64^{b} = ", 284$	p. $16 = 265, 1^{b}-5$
$66^{a}-67^{b} = 0.285$	139—(This quotation tal-
$,, 69^{2}-70^{2} = ,, 286$	lies with Visnu-P.
$ \begin{array}{ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	III, 11, 32-35)
$\frac{77^{2}-77^{5}}{77^{2}-77^{5}} = \frac{77^{2}-77^{5}}{77^{2}-77^{5}} = \frac{289}{77^{2}-77^{5}}$	145 = 16, 5
$^{\circ}$, $79^{a}-81^{b} = ^{\circ}$, 83	201 (twice), 207 (twice) and 209
$, 87^a - 87^b = , 84$	(twice)—On ekādaśi.
,, $88^a = ^{,,}$ 85 ,, $88^b-89^a = ^{,,}$ 86	Three of the lines quoted
802_80b — 97	on p. 207 are found quoted
" 80b_00a — " 90	in the Smrti-candrika IV,
(except the	61 as from the Brahmā-
first line)	nda-P.
mer ime)	thing. I.

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Com. on Yājñavalkya- Matsya-P.
                                       Com. on Yājñaralkya- Matsya-P.
    Smrti
                                            Smrti
                                        414-415 = chap. 59 (ex. verses
 295-296, 370, 380-382 and 427-
                                                   1 and 19)
     On gifts of cows, land,
                                        441 = 16, 11^{b}-12^{a} (the other
     house etc.
                                              verse is not found )
 301 = \text{chap. } 205 \text{ (except ve-}
                                        443 = 16, 8^{b}-10^{a}
           rse 1).
                                        456 = 16, 19-20
303-305 = 82, 2-25, (except
                                        466-467 = 22,88
               verses 12 and 24)
                                        475 \text{ (twice)} = 15, 34^{\circ} \text{ and } 35^{\circ}
313-319 = chap. 274 (except
                                                        36a:
                                                               16. 26-29
          verses 3a, 13b and 28b)
                                                        (ex. 26b)
320-323 = \text{chap.} 275 (ex. the
                                        485 = 17, 26-27^{a}
           last verse ) and chap.
                                        491 = 15, 32^{b} - 33^{a}
                                        507 = 18,30
            276 (except the last
                                        511 \text{ (twice)} = 17,52^{\text{b}}-55 \text{ and } 59
           verse; one of the
                                        512 = 17,60-61
           quoted verses is not
                                        514 = 16, 56-57^{\circ}
           found)
                                        515 = 17,65^{6}-66
                                       523 = 18, 8-9^{2}
324-326 = \text{chap.} 277 \text{ (ex. the)}
                                       550 \text{ (twice)} = 16,52^{b}-54^{a} \text{ (the)}
           last verse)
                                                        first quoted pas-
328-354 = \text{chap.} 278, (ex. the
                                                      sage is not found)
           last verse ), 279, 280
                                       554 = 17.36
           (ex. the last verse)
                                        557-558-One line coincides
               281-289.
                                                   with 17, 42; the sub-
                83-87,
                88 (ex. verse 1)
                                                   stance of another
                89-91.
                                                   quoted verse is found
                                                   in 17, 2<sup>a</sup>
                92 (ex. the last
                                       564 = 267, 12^{b}-13
                       verse )
                                       569 = \text{chap.} 94, (the quoted
354-356 = \text{chap.} 206 (ex. the
                                              passage has two verses
           first and last verses /
                                             more than chap. 94)
382-383 = 253, 19^{b}-32
                                       572 = 93.7^{b}-9^{a} and 11-12
392-396 = chap. 53 (ex. verses)
                                       575 = 93, 59-63^a
           1, 2, 5-10, 21, 25b-26a
                                       800 = 227, 6
           and 56b to the end)
                                       835 = 227, 8
403-404 = \text{chap. } 290 \text{ (ex. ver-}
                                       856 = 227, 120^{b}-121^{a}, \text{ and } 126^{b}-
                                              1272
           ses 1, 13-17 and 20 to
                                       889 = 18,5-6
                the end )
                                       890 = 18, 7
409-413 = \text{chap. } 58 \text{ (ex. verses)}
                                       954 = 184, 21^{b} - 23^{a}
           1-3/
                                       1043 = 227, 118^{b}-120^{a}
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(9) Trikānda-mandana Matsya-P. (13) Parāšara-bhāsya Matsya-P.
    (of Trikānda-mandana
                                           ( of Mādhavācārva )
        Bhāskara Miśra)
                                                 Vol. I, part ii.
p. 238 = 93, 111
                                       p. 58 = 18.30
                                       182 = 184, 21^{b}-23^{a}
(10) Haradatta's
                         Matsya-P.
                                       222 = 18,30
      commentary on the
                                       310 = 17, 4-5
    Gautama-dharma-sūtra
                                       311 = 17, 6-8
under Gautama II, 5, 12 = 18,
                                       361 = 16, 19^a \text{ and } 19^b-20
                                30
                                       371 = 17, 30
(11) Krtyācāra
                         Matsya-P.
                                       398 = 16.28^{b} - 29^{a}
(of Srīdatta Upādhyāya)
                                       396 = 16, 27^{b} - 28^{a}
fol. 66^{\rm b} = 16, 5^{\rm b}
                                       405 = 17, 23 \text{ and } 14^{b}-15^{a}
                                       418 = 17,28^{b}
(12) Krtya-ratnākara Matsya-P.
                                       433 = 17, 36
    (of Candesvara)
                                       434 = 17, 49^{6}; 16, 47; 17, 53-55
fol. (?) = 61,43ff.
                                       438 = 16, 54^{2}
fol. (?) = 53, 28-29
                                       440 = 16,55
fol. 139^b = 53, 23-24
                                       443 = 16.56-57^{2}
    161^{b}-162^{a} = 56, 1 \text{ to end}
                                       (14) Madana-pārijāta Matsya-P.
 ., 169^{a}-170^{b} = 95 1 \text{ to end}
                                          (of Madanapāla)
 176^{b} = 53, 31-32^{b}
                                       p. 13 = 53, 5^{b}-13^{a} (ex. 12^{b}). One
 " 1772—(Reference
                          to
                                               line 'trptim karoti etc.'
           18ff in which tila-
                                               is not found
           dhenu-dāna is dealt
                                       264 = 101,37
                                       375 = 184, 21^{b} - 23^{a}
             with)
                                       540 (twice)—(Brahma-P. 220,
   178^2 = 107, 7-8, (the verse)
                                                       53b-55).
             'sitāsite etc.' is not
                                                    17, 6-8
             found);
                                       558 = 16, 11^{b}-12^{a}
           101, 36
                                       568 = 16,27^{b}-28^{a}
   181^{a} = 101, 53^{a-b}
                                       575 = 17, 23
    181^{2}-182^{2} = 63, 1 to end (ex
                                      631 = 17,65^{b}-66
                verse 29)
                                      (15)
    187^a = 53, 33-35
                                      (a) Vrata-kāla-
                                                               Matsya-P.
   193^{\circ} = 101,79
                                      viveka ( of Śulapāni )
   193^{a}-^{b} = 53, 36-37
                                      fol. 2^{b} = 93,140^{b}-141^{a}
   197^{b} = 17.6-8
                                      (b) Sambandha-viveka
                                      fol 1^b = 18,30
    220^{\circ} \text{ ff} = 70.32-44 \text{ f}.
  5 [ Annals, B. O. R. I. ]
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(c) Prayaścitta-viveka Matsya-P.
                                      Tīrtha cintāmani
                                                              Matsua-P.
 p. 416 = 206, 23^{b}-24^{a}
                                       349 = 183,71-72 and 75
(16) Tirtha-cintāmaņi Matsya-P.
                                       351 = 183, 73
  ( of Vacaspatimiśra )
                                       (17) Nityācāra-
                                                              Matsya-P.
p. 8 = 106, 3, 4^{b}-5 and 7
                                             paddhati
17 = 108, 33
                                        (of Vidyākara Vājapeyin)
23-24 = 110, 1-11^2 (the verse
                                       p. 127 = 182, 12^{b}
         'tathā drstvā etc.' is
                                       530 = 158, 13^{2}
         not found)
                                        (18)
 26 = 104, 16-17
                                       (a) Dāna-kriyā-
                                                              Materia-P.
29-31 = 106, 27-28, 30^{10}-33 and
                                         kaumudi (of Govindananda)
        46-48; 107, 20-21; 108,
                                       p. 24 (twice) = 18, 8^{b};
         15 and 25-26<sup>a</sup>. (Three
         verses are not found)
                                       56 = 205, 4^{b}-6
27-29 = 107, 8 (the other quo
                                                         53, 17<sup>a</sup>-b.
       ted verses are not found)
                                       70 \text{ (thrice)} = 53, 51 53, 17^2-b
47 = 104.5 - 6^{2}
                                                     22a-b, and 51
48-49 = 106, 34-39
                                       81 = 206 (ex. verses 1, 3-4^2, 9^2,
49 = 106, 40-42
                                               10-19, 20b-22, 23b-28a.
49 = 106, 44-45
49-50 = 107, 4-6 \text{ (ex. 5c)}
                                               and 30-31)
50 = 107, 9-11
                                       84 = 206, 23^{b} - 24^{a}
50 = 107.17 - 19
                                      86 = 18, 12^{b}-14^{a}
42-43 = 105, 13^{b}-14^{a} and
                               16
                                      94 \text{ (twice)} = 207, 18-19^2;
                       -end
                                                    207, 38
45 = 105, 13^{b}-15
                                      100 = 18, 16^{b}
200 = 104, 14
                                      125 = 58,55-56
205 = 106, 49^{\circ}
                                      130 = 58, 18^{a-b}
                                      157 = 58,42^{b}-43
216 = 106, 49 (the other three
                                      161 = 17,65^{b}
        lines as not found)
                                      164 = 58,43^{\circ}
236 = 82, 2-6 and 7-25 (except
                                       (b) Suddhi-kriyā-kaumudī
        verses 23^a and 24)
                                      p. 49 = 18, 30
267 = 105, 15 (the other ver-
                                       74 = 18, 12^{b}
        ses are not found)
                                      139 = 18, 7^{2}
340 = 183, 61-62
                                      163 = 18, 12^{b}-14^{a}
342 = 180, 54 and 57^a (one line
                                      165 = 207.38-41
        is not found);
                                      169 = 207.18-19^{\circ}
        184, 56-57<sup>a</sup> (one verse
                                      177 = 17, 70
        is not found)
                                      178 = 18,26
345 = 182, 27^{2-b}
                                      182 = 18, 16^a \text{ and } 22^b - 23^a
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Śuddhi-kriyā- Matsya-P	. Śrāddha-kriyā- Matsya-P.
kaumudī	kaumudī
$183 = 18,22^{b} - 23^{a}$	$192 = 16,39^{2}$
184 = 18, 16	$194 = 16,38^{b}-39$
$194 = 22, 82 - 84^2$	$196 = 17,47^{b} \text{ and } 49^{a}$
$284 = 274, 6^{b}-10$	$207 = 17,52^{b}-55^{a}$
350 = 102, 31	$208 = 17,55^{2}$
•	$212 = 17,52^2 \text{ and } 23$
(c) Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī	$214 = 17,59-60^{2}$
p.11 = 17,30-36	$252 = 16, 57^{b} - 58^{a}$
27 = 17,63-64	259 cf 17, 63 ²
28 = 17,70	$300 = 18, 22^{b} - 23^{a}$
32 = 17,70	306 = 22, 82-85
35 = 16, 8-12 (six lines, 'sad-	312-313 = 22, 2
angavit etc.' are not	319 = 18, 16
found)	326 = 16,43
$41 = 16,14$ and $15^{b}-16$, (the	$336 = 18,8^{b}-9^{a}$
line 'parapūrvāpatiķ	$337 = 18,22^{b}-23^{a}$
etc.' and the verse,	$345 - 346 = 18, 22^{b} - 23^{2}$
'Karņāṭāś-ca etc.' are	357 = 18, 16
not found)	$362 = 18, 16^2$
$59 = 17, 14^2$	389 = 17, 27*
81 = 16, 20	398 = 18,26
$84 = 16, 19^{2}$ and $29^{b} - 30^{2}$	$425 = 18, 19^{b} - 22^{a}$
$98 = 16, 56-57^2$	433-434 = 18,16
$103 = 184. 33^{2};$	435 = 18,28-29
17, 11 ^b -12 ² ;	$436 = 18, 20^a \text{ and } 21^b$
16, 27 ^b -29 ²	$471 = 16,58^{b}-c.$
$122 = 17, 16^{b}$	$474 = 18, 23^2$
$126 = 17, 19^{b} - 23$	$488 = 17,65^{b}-66$
$127 = 17, 14^{b} - 15^{a}$	$557 = 16, 5^{b}$
$128 = 17, 14^{b}-15^{a}$ and 17^{b}	(19) Nityācāra-pradīpa Matsya-P.
$137 = 17, 26^{b} - 27^{a}$	(of Nṛṣiṃha Vājapeyin)
$142 = 15, 37^{b} - 38^{a}$	$p. 18 = 53, 59^{b}-c$
$150 = 15, 32^{b} - 33^{a}$	104 = 18,30
186 = 17,46	$209 = 93,83^{b}-84^{a}$

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KAVIDARPANAM*

[A Prākṛta Treatise on Metres]

BY PROF. H. D. VELANKAR, M. A.

अथ पश्चपदी।

तगणवुगटमणलहुणो पढमतइयपंचमेसु चरणेसु।
टा णवरि तइयपंचमपापसुं मञ्झक्चिय ॥ २७ ॥
दुइयतुरिएसु टदुगं चोय इमा तिपयरइयपुव्वद्धा ।
तइयप्पंचमपयअणुपासा मत्ता पउरभेया ॥ २८ ॥
[तगणद्विकटगणलघवः प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमेषु चरणेषु ।
टी केवलं तृतीयपञ्चमपादयोर्मध्यकावेव ॥ २७ ॥
दितीयतुर्ययोष्टद्विकं चश्चेयं त्रिपादरचितपूर्वार्था ।
तृतीयपञ्चमपदानुप्रासा मात्रा प्रचरभेदा ॥ २८ ॥

प्रथमतृतीयपश्चमेष्विङ्घषु द्वौ पश्चमात्रावेकश्चतुर्मात्र एको लघुः केवलं तृतीयपश्चमपादयोर्यौ चतुर्मात्रौ तो मध्यकावेव । द्वितीयचतुर्थपादयोद्वौ चतुर्मात्रा-वेकश्चिमात्र एवं पश्चपादा यस्यामियं पादत्रयकृतपूर्वार्षार्थात्पादद्वयकृतोत्तरार्धातृतीयपश्चमपादयोः सानुप्रासा प्रचरभेदा मात्रा नाम पश्चपद्दी ॥

उदा॰—महुमहूसवमुहि वित्तु मत्ता । फुहुं धुयभंग्रिरिहि । ग्रुंदिभरिहि मायद झंपिय । पियमाहवि सुणिस्रिणिवि । सुणिवि किंपि झाणाउ कंपिय ॥ ४५ ॥

[मधुमधूत्सवमुखे वृत्ती मत्त-। भुङ्गभङ्गरे-।

र्मञ्जरीभरैर्माकन्द आच्छादितः॥

मियमाधव्या मुजमुणाच्य । मुनयो किमपि ध्यानात्कस्पिताः ॥ ४५ ॥]
गुंदित्ति मक्षरी । पियमाहितिति कोकिछा ॥ पउरभेयति भणनान्मत्तवाछिका
१ मधुकरिका २ मत्तविछासिनी ६ मत्तकरिणी ४ बहुरूपेति ५ संज्ञा अस्या भेदा
क्षेत्रा यदवीचंच्छन्दःकन्द्रयाम् ।

मत्तिच्य उच्चइ मत्तवालिया दुइयतुरियचरणेसु । पढमटगणंमि तगणे कर्यमि जुगवं अजुगवं वा ॥ १ ॥ समचरणणिहणटगणे ते युष्य कमेण मत्तमहुआरिया । इय मत्तविलासिनिया सिहिसरपयमुहदुतेसु दुटा ॥ २ ॥

^{*} Continued from p. 89 Annals, B. O. R. I., Vol. XVI.

दसअहतेरसि वा इह बारसअहतेरसि अहवा।
अहहेगारसि व दसहएकारसि वावि॥ २९॥
बारसअहेगारसि वा रिविवसुरवी हिंय कला हिं।
तिसु तिसु पएसु कमसो दल जुयले बहु विहा घत्ता॥ ३०॥
एसा कडवयिन हुणे छहुणिया इत्थ पढमि बहु याण।
तं इयच्छ हाण चल तथ्यंचमाणं च अणुपासो॥ ३१॥
[दशाष्ट्रत्रयोदशिमर्वा इह द्वादशाष्ट्रत्रयोदशिमरथवा।
अष्टाष्ट्रका दशिमर्वा दशाष्ट्रका दशिमर्वा प्रसाधिका दशिमर्वा ।
द्वादशाष्ट्रका दशिमर्वा रिविवसुरिविमर्वा कला भिः।
त्रिषु त्रिषु परेषु कमशो दल युगले बहु विधा घत्ता॥ ३०॥
एषा कडवक निधने छहुणिकात्र प्रथमद्वितीययोः।
तृतीयषष्ट योश्वतुर्थण स्त्रमयोश्वानुपासः॥ ३१॥

इहात्ते अस्मिश्च्छन्दासि दशाष्ट्रत्रयोदशादिकला यथासंस्यक्कप्तित्रिपाद्-षाटितार्धद्वया बहुविधा घत्तानाम षट्पदी । वक्ष्यमाणस्य संधेर्मुखे कडवकस्य त्वन्ते ष्ठुवमियं कार्येव । ध्रुवा ध्रुवकमिति संज्ञाद्वयापि एषा कडवकान्ते प्रकान्तार्थस्य भट्टन्यन्तरेणाभिधाने छडणिकेति तुर्यनामापि । इत्थत्ति अस्यां घत्तायां प्रथम-दितीययोस्तृतीयषष्ठयोश्चतुर्थपञ्चमयोः पाद्योरनुप्रासः ॥

उदा॰ — मणिमाणसमुद्धय । बप्पुडमहय (मुद्धय) । जे जिणिंद तुह नहु णिमय । दुहसंघत्ताविय । कुसमय-भाविय । ते नर निरु भवि चिरु भिमय ॥४६॥ [मनिस मानसमुद्धताः । मूर्खा वराकाः । ये जिनेन्द्र त्वां न प्रणताः ॥ दुःखसंघतापिताः । कुसमयभाविताः । ते नराः खलु भवे चिरं

भ्रान्ताः ॥ ४६ ॥]

संघत्तावियात्ते समासे वेति द्वित्वम् । बप्पुड्डात्ति शीघादित्वाद्वराकस्य बप्पुडः । निरुत्ति निश्चयार्थेव्ययम् ॥ ४६ ॥

उदा॰ — जय जिणसासणनंदण - । वणहरियंदण । निम्मलजसचंदणमलय ।

ग्रुकुलगयणिदवायर । गुणमणिसायर । तिलयसूरि गणहरितलय ॥४७॥

महिभरसेसह । भीमनरेसह । जउ विज्ञिय जयढक ।

तउ रिष्ठवग्गह । भयभरभग्गह । हियडइ पिडय धसक ॥ ४८ ॥

भग्नउ अइयारिहिं । इक्कपहारिहिं । समिर सयंभिरराउ ।

घणरणकृष्कालह । कुमरप्पालह । तिणि माणि भइउ विसाद ॥ ४९ ॥

जियजिनशासननन्दन-। वनहरिचन्दन । निर्मलयशश्चन्दनमलय ॥
गुरुकुलगगनदिवाकर । गुणमणिसागर । तिलकसूरे गणधरतिलक ॥४७॥
महीभरशेषस्य । भिननरेशस्य । यदा वायते जयढक्का ॥
तदा रिपुवर्गस्य भयभरभग्नस्य । हृद्यं पतिता भीतिः ॥ ४८ ॥
भग्नोतिचारिभि- । रेकपहारेण । समरे शाकंभरीराजः ।
घणरणकौतुकवतः । कुमारपालस्य । तेन मनसि भक्तो विषादः (१)॥४९॥
कुह्वालहित्ति । शीधादित्वात् । कौतुकस्य कुट्टं तत आलश्च ॥ ४९ ॥

उदा॰—दिल महियल रिहंतह । तह चहुंतह । दीसिह जय जयवीर ।
कहु अमित्तह चित्तिहिं। तिण पुण दंतिहिं। गेहिणिनयणिहिं नीर ।५०॥*
[दलेन महीतलमलंकुर्वाणस्य । तव चलतः । हृश्यते । जय जगद्दीर ॥
कष्टा अमित्राणां चित्ते । तृणं पुनर्दन्ते । गृहिणीनयनेषु च नीरम् ॥५०॥]

कट्टति काष्टानि कष्टानि च।

उदाः — दीसहि सुंड गयाणाणि । कव्वइ कइयणि । जूयचढण सिरि निढभर । मारण जइ-परि पारइ । राज्जि तहारइ । कुमरनर्रिद किवायर ॥ ५१॥*

[दृश्यते शुण्डा गजानने । काट्यानि कविजने । यूकापतनं शिरसि

निर्भरम् ॥

मारणं यतिपरिवारे (१)। राज्ये तव । कुमारनरेन्द्र कुपाकर ॥ ५१ ॥]
मुंहत्ति मिद्राः करिकराश्च । कव्वति कव्यानि काव्यानि च यूतपतनानि
यूकापतनानि च ॥ दिक्मात्रमिदं घत्ताषट्कम् । यतः सप्तकलायैः सप्तकलानैः पादैस्तुल्यैरतुल्यैर्वा त्रिभिश्चिमिबद्धार्धद्वयानेकथा विदग्धगोष्टीगरिष्ठा धत्ता । किंच
तृतीयषष्टपादयोर्दशादयो मात्रा एकेकवृध्या यावत्सप्तदशः शेषाङ्गिष्ठचतुष्के तु सप्तेव
यत्र सा षट्पदजातिर्नाम षट्पदी । दशादीनां सप्तदशान्तानामष्टविधन्वादष्टथा ।
सप्तस्थाने अष्टमात्राश्चेत्तदा सैवोपजातिर्नाम षट्पदी पूर्ववदष्ट्या । अष्टस्थाने नव
चेत् तदावजातिर्नाम षटपदी प्राग्वदष्टथा । एवं षट्पदजात्युपजात्यवजातीनां
प्रत्येकमष्टविधन्वाच्चतुर्विशातिथा षट्पदी । यदवोचंच्छन्दः कन्दस्याम्—

जीइ कछाउ दसाई सत्तरसंता य सिहिरसपएसु। सेसेसु सत्त छपई सा छपई नाम अद्वविहा ॥ १ ॥ इय अद्विह उवजाई सत्तद्वाणे कछाहि अद्वविहा। नवहि पुणो अवजाई एवं चउविसहा छपई।। २ ॥

चतुष्पदीदिपयाविष धुवाधुवकघत्तासंज्ञे ज्ञेये । ते आप संधिमुखे कहवकान्ते धुवं...कार्ये । केवलं कहवकान्ते चतुष्पयेव छड्डिणिकास्या न दिपदी । यच्छन्दः कन्दली—

कडवयनिवहो संधी पद्धारियाईहिं चढिह पुण कडवं। संधिमुहे कडवंते धुवाच धुवयं च घत्ता वा ॥ १ ॥ सा तिविहा छपई चउपई य दुपई य तासु पुण दुन्नि। छचउप्पईउ कडवयनिहणे छड्डाणियनामावि॥ २ ॥

^{*} Both 50 and 51 are fine examples of श्विष्टपारिसंख्या.

तथान्तरसमार्धसमा संकीर्णा सर्वसमा चिति चतुर्धा चतुःपदी । यच्छन्दःकन्द्ली —
अह चउपईउ चउहा हवंति अन्तरसमा तहन्दसमा ।
संकिन्ना सन्वसमा य तासु तावंतरसमाओ ॥ १ ॥
विसमे सेगा सेगा सत्ताई सोल जाव पत्तेयं ।
अहाई जा सतरस सेगा सेगा समे मत्ता ॥ २ ॥
चंपह्कुसुमाईनामियाओ जाईउ हुंति पणपन्ना ।
दिसिगहवसुहयरससरसायरसिंहिनयणचंदभेएहिं ॥ ३ ॥
एयाउच्चिय सुमणोरमाइनामाउ वच्चए मुणह ।
एवं दहुत्तरसयं चउप्पई अंतरसमाओ ॥ ४ ॥
अंतरसमयच्चिय दुइयतइयपायाण विणिमयंमि कए
अद्धसमा य दृहुत्तरसयसंखा तेहिं नामेहिं ॥ ५ ॥
दुहितिहिचउहिवि विसरिसपाएहि विमिस्सियाउ संकिन्ना ।
सन्वसमाउ पुण सरिसएहिं सव्विहें पाएहिं ॥ ६ ॥

कुङ्कमाया तु चतुःषष्टिधा द्विपदी । तयोः पश्चाननलालितामलयमारुतक-दोहकापदोहकायाः कतिचिदन्तरसमाचनुष्पदीभेदा कुङ्कमायाश्च कतिचिद्विपदी-भेदाः प्राग्रक्ता एव पश्चाननललिता च बहुशः संधिमुखेषु प्रयुक्ता दृश्यते ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥ ३१ ॥

> पपका टदुगं पपटा कमेण मुहणिहणदलपयितगेसु । कित्तिधवलं दलजुगे पढमतइज्जाणमणुपासो ॥ ३२ ॥ [पपकाष्टदुगं पपटाः क्रमेण मुखनिधनदलपदित्रकेषु । कीर्तिधवलं दलयुगे प्रथमतृतीययोरनुप्रासः ॥ ३२ ॥]

भवलन्याजायेनच्छन्दसा पुमान् वर्ण्यते तद्भवलम् । तश्च त्रिधा । अष्टपात् षद्रपाश्चतुष्पात् । यदाह--

> भवलिनहेण सुपुरिसा विश्वज्जह जेण तेण सो भवलो । भवलोवि होह तिविहो अद्वपउच्छप्पउ च्चउप्पाओ ॥

तत्राष्टपदश्रीधवलमष्टपयां वक्ष्यति । षट्पद्स्तु अयं यथा । क्रमान्मुखद्ले प्रथमेङ्मौ द्दौ षण्मात्रावेको द्दिमात्रो द्वितीयाङ्मौ तु द्दौ चतुर्मात्रौ तृतीये तु द्दौ षण्मात्रावेकश्चतुर्मात्रः । एवं द्वितीयद्लाङ्मित्रयेपि यस्य तत्कीर्तिधवलं छन्दः । दलद्वयेष्यस्य प्रत्येकं आयतृतीयपाद्योरनुप्रासः ॥

उदा•—देसणगुणगव्विहिं गज्जर । मञ्चर नाणिहिं । पवलवायभडवाइहिं भज्जर ।

परि**कित्तिधवलि**यसयलधर । जसघोससूरि । तुहसमवह न लहि किंचि गणधर ॥ ५२ ॥

[देशनागुणगर्वेण गर्जितः । मत्तो ज्ञानेन । प्रबलवाग्भटवादिभिर्भक्तः ॥ परिकीर्तिथवलितसकल्परो । यशोघोषसूरे । त्वत्समो न लभ्यते

कोपि गणधरः ॥ ५२ ॥

समवडात्ति समतुळांवडशब्दः संमितार्थः । चतुष्पदश्च गुणधवलादिः । स च महाग्रन्थेभ्यो ज्ञेयः । धवलोपलक्षणान्मङ्गलार्थसंबद्धं छन्दो मङ्गलम् । यदाहुः-

उत्साहहेछावदनाडिछाथैर्यद्वीयते मङ्गछवाचि किंचित्। तद्वपकाणां अभिधानपूर्वं छन्दोविदो मङ्गछमामनान्ति॥१॥ तथा—तैरेव धवछन्याजान्युरुषः स्तूयते यदा। तद्ददेव तदानेको धवछोप्यभिधीयते॥२॥

कोर्थः । येनैवोत्साहादिना मङ्गलभवलभाषागाने कृते तन्नामाये मङ्गलभवले । तथाहि । उत्साहमङ्गलस् । हेलामङ्गलस् । वदनमङ्गलस् । अडिलामङ्गलस् ॥ आदिशब्दात् रासावलयमङ्गलं दोहकमङ्गलदि च होयस् । एवं उत्साहभवलायपि
वाच्यस् । किंच येनैवोत्साहादिना देवो गीयते तत्फुल्लटकस् । तथा चतुर्मात्रत्रिकमेको द्विमात्रो यत्राङ्गिचतुष्टये यस्य कस्यचिद्वाने झम्बटकस् ।

यच्छन्दःकन्दली--

उत्साहवयवणहेलादोहयपमुहेहिं गिज्जए पुरिसो।
जेहिंचिय धवलिमसेण तबाममुच्चए धवला॥१॥
इयमंगलावि तबाममुच्चए मंगलत्थसंबद्धा।
फुल्लुड्यं सुरगाणे झंबटयं टतिगका गाणे॥२॥ ३२॥ इति॥
वत्थुवयणाइ उल्लालसंजुयं छप्पयं द्विढछंदं।
कव्वं वा; अह मत्ता उल्लालसंगया फुल्ला॥ ३३॥
[वस्तुवदनादि उल्लालसंगुतं षद्पदं सार्थंच्छन्दः।
काव्यं वा; अथ मात्रा उल्लालकसंगता फुल्लम्॥ ३३॥

वस्तुवदनमादिर्यस्य रासावलयसंकीर्णकवदनादिछन्दःसमूहस्य तत् उल्ला लकेन कृङ्कमेन कर्पूरेण च संपृक्तं छन्दः षट्रपदाक्यं सार्थच्छन्दःसंत्तं काव्यसंत्तं वा क्षेयम् । यदाह—

जद्द बन्धुआण हिट्ठे उल्लाला छंद्यंमि किज्जांति।
दिवडच्छंद्यछप्पयकव्वां तां इच्चंति॥ १॥
उदा०—पिच्छ पओसि समग्गपिहियगयणंगणमगगह
गहिरमज्झमुज्झंतलोयलोयणकसवगगह।
तलदिप्पंतपईवपंतिनिम्मलमणिविंदह
उद्दामपतमातिमिरानियरउद्दामसमुद्दह॥
ससिखंडु लहरिहेलुल्लसिरवियडसिप्पसंपुडसमु।
पसयन्छि तरलतारयनिवहु नज्झइ घणु फेण्रगगमु॥ ५३॥

6 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

सूरिलच्छिमणिहारपुरियकिरणुक्करसुंदरु
मुह्मणहरहरिणंकविंवजुण्हाभरसायरः ।
वयणकुहरविहरंतवाणिदहच्छविविब्भमु
सच्छुष्पयनहिनवहबहलउम्मुहमोहोवमु
समखीरजलहिलहरीलडहु कित्तिकणइकुमुमप्पवरः ।
मह गुरुहु तुहु दीसइ कटरि देसणखणि दसणंसुभरः ॥ ५४ ॥

ि प्रेक्षस्य प्रदोषे पिहितसमग्रगगनाङ्गणमार्गस्य गम्भीरमध्यमुद्धालोकलोचनोत्सवाग्रस्य (१) । तल्दीप्यमानप्रदीपपङ्गिकतिर्मलमणिवृन्दस्य बद्दामप्रतमतिमिरनिकरोद्दामसमुद्रस्य ॥ शशिखण्डं लहरिहेलोल्लसनशीलविकटशुक्तिसंपुटसमम् । प्रसृताक्षि तरलतारकनिवहो ज्ञायते घनः फेनोन्नमः ॥ ५३ ॥

सूरिछक्ष्मीमणिहारस्कुरितिकरणोत्करसुन्दरो मुखमनोहरहरिणाङ्कुबिम्बज्योत्स्नाभरसोदरः। वदनकुहरविहरद्वाणीदेहच्छाविविभ्रमः स्वच्छपदनस्रिवहबह्छोन्सुस्समयूखोपमः॥

शमक्षीरजलपिलहरीलटमः कीर्तिलताकुसुमं प्रवरम् ।

मम गुरोस्तव दृश्यते भो देशनासमये दशनांशुभरः ॥ ५४ ॥]
सच्छप्पयेत्यादि । स्वच्छपद्नस्यनिवहबह्छोन्मुसमयूस्रोपमम् । 'नवामयूस्वछवणचतुर्गुणचतुर्थचतुर्दशचतुर्वारमुकुमारकुतूहछोदुस्वछोलूस्वछे' (हे॰ ८.१.१७१)
इति आदिस्वरस्य सस्वरव्यक्षनेन सह ओकारः । कणयत्ति छता । तुहुत्ति तुहुश्च
प्राग्वत् कटरिनि विस्मये ॥ ५४ ॥

रासावलयस्य कुङ्कुमेन यथा-

जयिर झलक्कि नियण दिहनयणिआहि त खणु केअइकुसुमदलिंग भसलु विलसइ तजणु । जइ य तीइ मुहहावि मंदहासड चढइ ता जणु हीरइपोमरायसंचड झडइ ॥ जइ तीइ महुरमियभासणिहि वयणगुंफु निसुणिज्जइ । ता धुउ करिप्प जणु अमयरसु कञ्चपञ्चपुढि पिज्जइ ॥ ४८॥

रासावलयस्य कर्पूरेण यथा-

परहुयपंचमसवणसभय मञ्जउ स किर तिंभाण भणइ न किंपि मुद्धि कलयांटिगिर। चंदु न दिखण सब्कड् जं सा ससिवयणि दप्पणि मुह न चलोअइ तिंभाणि मयनयाणि॥ वइरिंउ मणि मन्नवि कुसुमसरु खणिखाणि सा बहु उत्तसइ। अञ्छरिङ रूवनिहि कुसुमसरु तुह दंसणु जं अहिलसइ॥ ४९॥ वस्तुवदनकरासावलयसंकीर्णस्य कुङ्कृमेन यथाः—

पंडिगंडयलपुलयपयरपयडणबद्धायरः
कंचि बालबालाविलासबहलिमगुणनायरः ।
द्रविडिदिन्वचंपयचयपरिमलल्हसडउ
कुंतलिकुंतलद्ष्पकडप्पणलंपडउ ॥
मरहद्विमाणनिद्धाहबयविविहविहंसणसङ्कउ ।
कसु करइ न माणि हल्लोहलउ मलयानिलह ग्रुलक्कउ ॥ ५० ॥
कर्पूरेण यथा—

अबिहड अवरुप्परुष्परुढगुणगंठिनिबद्धउ एयारिण हल्डि गल्ड पिम्मु सरलिमवसल्ख्उ । माणमढप्परु तुह न जुत्तु उत्तमरमणि तिंभणि वारउं वारवार वारणगमणि ॥

अह करिह कछहु वल्लहिण सहुं इच्छि म इच्छिउ पणयसुहु। माणिक्कि मणंसिणि करिटवल्ल हिल्लि खिल्लिताजूउ तुहुं॥ ५१॥

रासावलयवस्तुवदनकसंकीर्णस्य कङ्कुमेन यथा

सवणनिहियहीरयहसतंकुंडलजुयल
थूलामलमुत्तावलिमंडिअथणकमल ।
सेअंसुयपंगुरण बहलसिरिंहंडरसुज्जल
बहुपहुल्लविअइल्लुफ़्लुक्लावियकुंतल ॥
तो पयडत्थयदंसणजणियसलयणडरभरभारिय
अहिसरइ चंदसुंदरनिसिहि पद्दं पिययम अहिसारिय ॥ ५२॥

कर्पूरेण यथा-

तरुणिहूणि गंडप्पहपुंछिंअतिमिरमसि
उक्कचुलुकावडणु दुसहु मा करउ सिस ।
मलयानिलु मयनयणि घुणियकप्पूरकयणि(लि)वणु
संधुक्कियमयणागिहु सहु मा दहउ तुज्झ तणु ॥
तणुआंगि म खडहाडि पडहि तुहुं मयणबाणवेयणकलह ।
चय माणु मााणवल्लहिण सहुं चडि म जीयसंस्यतुलह ॥ ५३॥
वद्नकस्य कुङ्कमेन यथा—

जइ तुहुं महु करयलु उम्मोडिवि चित्रय चीरंचलु अच्छोडिवि । माणिणि तुवि पसाउ करि सुम्मष्ठ
पइ पिइ उत्ताविलय म गम्मष्ठ ॥
जइ किंवहावि संचह पयजुयलु इह विहिवसिण विहहुइ ।
ता तुज्झ मज्झु लीणउ खरउ किं म सामोअरि तुष्टुइ ॥ ५४ ॥

कर्पूरेण यथा-

कि न फुल्लइ पाडल परपरिमल महमहेइ कि न माहित अतिरल । नवमालिय कि न दल्लइ पहिलिय कि न उत्थरह कुसुमभरि मिलिय ॥ दीहियतलायसरितल्लडिहों कि न पसािह पर्जमिणि फुढ्ड । तुति जाइ जायगुणसंभरणुझाणु ति भसल हु मिणि खुढ्ड ॥ ५५ ॥ षद्पदीप्रकरणम् । अथ सप्तपदी । अथ मात्राजाितरुल्लालकाभ्यां कुद्धमकर्पूराभ्यां संगता फुल्लसंझा । यन्मनोरथः—

जह मत्ताजाईणं उल्लाला हेट्टयंमि दीसंति ।
ता ताई सव्वाई फुल्लयनामेण कहियाई ॥ १ ॥
उदा॰ —िविहियभरवइसवइघरदास । रसु साहिउ दुद्धरिसु ।
हणिउ असुर वद्धरु भयंकरु ॥
छद्दारिसणदिट्टसम । खात्तिरण्झ पालिउ निरंबरु ॥
पूइयकइंद्बंदिण विबुह्वदरसुरिकत्तणकारिय ।
जयसिंहदेवराहिं भुवणि कित्तिरिद्धि वद्धारिय ॥ ५५ ॥
रामगंडवभरहहरियंद् । णलपमुहिहिं जण-। पुत्तभावु पिडवाण्झ कूरिहि ।
विखवंतह नियजणह । जिकर हरिउ पिथिविहें भूरिहि ॥
मुग्गदु तमुक्क पई पाउ भाणि तिणु जिंव तिहुणप्पालसुय ।
उद्फुल्लवयण किन जण मुणहि, तिणि कुमरेस चरित्त तुय ॥ ५६ ॥

रामपाण्डवभरतहरिश्चन्द्र-। नलप्रमुखैर्जन-। पुत्रभावं प्रतिपद्य ऋूरैः॥ विल्पतो निजजनस्य। यत्किल हृतं पार्थिवैर्भूरिभिः॥ मृतस्वं तत्न्मुक्तं 'स्वयं प्राप्नोतु 'भिणत्वा तृणमिव त्रिभुवनपालसुत। उन्फुलुवदनः किं न जानाति जनस्तेन कुमरेश चरित्रं तव॥ ५६॥]

पिडविष्जिति प्रतिपय । मुग्गद्दुत्ति मृतस्वम् । भिषत्ति भिषित्वा । 'क्स्वा-इ-इउ-इवि अवय ' (हे॰ ८-४-४३९) इति त्वास्थाने इः । एवं शेषभेदेषूदाहार्यम् । सप्तपदीपकरणम् ।

अथाष्ट्रपदी-

विसमेसु टितगकेहिं समेसु टढुमेण चउसु सिरिधवछं। विसमसमपयणुपासं, अह तरलं दोहसंदोहा ॥ ३४ ॥ [विषमेषु टित्रककैः समेषु टिद्दकेन चतुर्षु श्रीधवलम् । विषमसमपादानुप्रासं; अथ तरलं दोहसंदोहौ ॥ ३४ ॥]

विषमेषु चतुर्षु पादेषु त्रिभिश्चतुर्मात्रैरेकेन द्विमात्रेण समेषु चतुर्षु पादेषु द्वाभ्यां चतुर्मात्राभ्यां श्रीधवलं छन्दो विषमसमपादानुप्रासं प्रथमस्याङ् मेर्द्वितीयेनाङ् मिणा तृतीयस्य तुर्येण पश्चमस्य षष्ठेन सप्तमस्याष्टमेनानुप्रास इत्यर्थः । अथ दोहसंदोही मिलितौ तरलं छन्दः । दोहशाब्दैनेह दोहकजातिर्युद्धाते ततो दोहकावदोहकोपदो-हकोद्दीनां संग्रहः । यन्मनोरथः—

" जइ दोहयाण हिट्टे दीसइ संदोहओ हहं (?) रइओ। ता ते सब्वे छंदंमि तरलनामेण नायव्वा ॥ १ ॥ ' उदा॰ — खीरसमुद्दिण छवणजलहि। कुवलय कुमुइहिं। कार्लिदी सुरर्सिधुजलिण । महुमहुणु हरिण ॥ कइलासिण सरिसउ हू किरि । सो अंजणगिरि । इह तुह जससिरिधवलिउ पहु। कि पंडरु न हु॥ ५७॥ सिरिधवलं हेमसूरिस्स । थणु जुव्वणु जीविउ सयसु। चंचलु जिम्व करिकसु। खाणि खणि करयाछ नीरु जिम्व । गछइ रूवलायसु ॥ अवरङ् अविरलविज्जलवलय- । विलसियतरल पयन्थ । तुइ बढ धम्मुज्जमसाढिलमण । जण अच्छइ वीसत्थ ॥ ५८ ॥ िक्षीरसमुद्रेण लवणजलाधिः । कुवलयानि कुमुदैः ॥ कालिन्दी सुरसिन्धुजलेन । मधुमथनो हरेण ॥ केलासेन सदृशः खलु कृतः । सोऽअनगिरिः ॥ इह तव यशःश्रीधविति प्रभो । कि पाण्डुरं न खलु ? ॥ ५७ ॥ धनं यौवनं जीवितं सकलं । चश्चलं यथा करिकर्णः ॥ क्षणे क्षणे करतले नीरं यथा । गलति रूपलावण्यम् ॥ अपरमापि अविरलवियुद्दलय- । विलसिततरलाः पदार्थाः ॥ ततोपि मूढो धर्मों धमशिथलमनाः । जनो भवति विश्वस्तः ॥ ५८॥] बढित्ति शीघादौ मूढस्य नालियबढााविति । (हे. ८.४.४२२.) वत्थुय दोहा दोहय वत्थुवया तहय दुवइगीईओ । हुंति दुहंगी नामा वन्थू दोहाइजुयमत्ता ॥ ३५॥ [वस्तु च दोहा; दोहा च वस्तुवदनं; तथा च दिपदीगीत्यौ। भवन्ति द्विभङ्की नामः, वस्तु दोहादियुतमात्रा ॥ ३५ ॥]

वन्थुनि । वन्थुवहानि वस्तुवदनं तदुपरि तदादी च दोहकस्तथा च विपयुपरि गीतिर्दिभङ्गीसंज्ञाः स्युः । दी भङ्गो छन्दसी यस्यामिति विभङ्गी ।

> उदा॰—अरिरि मयण रहवयणकमछदंसणु रवणु वज्जह अरिरि कालपरिवाससिढिछबंधणु धणु सज्जह । अरिरि वीरहरिणंकचूडलूडणु सरु मंघह अरिरि हठिण उर्जिति जंतु मह वल्लहु रुंधह ॥ इम्व बुल्लंती राहमइ । सामिय बहुसोहग्ग । अंसुजलुल्ल्यलोयणिय । तह किम्ब चित्ति न छग्ग ॥ ५९॥

> > दुइंगिया स्रप्पहसूरिस्स ।

मइं मिहिउ मन जाह तुह । कंत वसंतपवेसि ।
चूउ न वाहह उत्थरिउ । विरिहिणिमारणरेसि ॥
विरिहिणिमारणरेसिं गुंदिसबाहु सुदिदु करि
किन बाहह उत्थरिउ चूउ अविरलद्लुह्विर ।
कंत वसंतपवेसि विरहदुह्वंघिल घहिउ
अहह म जाह अणाहदीणदुम्मइ मइ मिछिउ ॥ ६० ॥
[अरेरे मद्न रतिवद्नकमलद्दीनं क्षणं वर्जय
अरेरे कालपरिवासिहाथिलबन्धनं धतुः सज्जय ।
अरेरे वीरहरिणाङ्कचूडालोडनं शरं संधेहि
अरेरे हठेनोज्जयन्तं गच्छन्तं मम वहुमं रुधान ॥
इति वदन्ती राजीमितः । स्वामिन् बहुसीभाग्या ।
अश्रुजलाईलोचनी । तव किं चित्ते न लग्ना ॥ ५९॥]

[मां त्यक्त्वा मा यासीस्त्वं । कान्त वसन्तप्रवेशे । चतो न बाहुभिरास्तीर्णो । विरहिणीमारणार्थम् ?॥ विरहिणीमारणार्थे मञ्जरीसम्बाहं सुदृढं कृत्वा किं न बाहुभिरास्तीर्णश्चृतोऽविरखद्खमरेण ?। कान्त वसन्तप्रवेशे विरहदुःखमोहे क्षिप्त्वा अहह मा याहि अनाथदीनदुर्मतिं मां त्यक्त्वा ॥६०॥]

गुंदिति मांजिरी । षंघिछात्ति शीधादौ छगटकस्य घंघछः । अत्राम्नायः । दोहकपदानि प्रतिलोमं वस्तुवद्नकपदेष्वावर्तनीयानि ।

> उदाः — घरि घरि धेणुदोहहहिमंथविछोडणघोसु घुम्मए वंस्रणवेयपढणञ्जाणि वंदिण जयजयसदु सुम्मए । तक्साणि मुत्तु कहावि निदालसु कामुयजणुवि बुज्झए धारणिबंधि जिल्थु नारीयाणि अविरल्ल सिल्कु बुज्जए ॥

सा बहलकमलपरिमलमिलंतरोलंबरोलरमणीया। मंगलनिवहावंझा दिणमुहसंझा नरिंद तुह होउ॥ ६१॥

[गृहेगृहे थेतुदोहद्धिमन्थिविलोडणघोषो घूर्णते
व्याख्यानवेद्पठणध्वनिर्बन्दीनां जयजयशब्दः श्रूयंत ।
तत्क्षणे मुक्तः कथमपि निद्राल्ठसः कामुकजनोपि बोध्यते
धारणिबन्धे यत्र नारीजनेनाविरलं सल्लिसुद्यते ॥
सा बह्ळकमलपरिमल्लिस्रोलम्बरवरमणीया ।
मङ्गल्लिवहावन्ध्या दिनमुखसंघ्या नरेन्द्र तवास्तु ॥ ६१ ॥

रोलम्बरोलुत्ति अभररवः । तथा चेति चकारादन्यैरि छन्दोभिर्द्वनिद्वतै-विभक्की स्यात् । यथा गाथाया भदिकायोगे—

> केलिक्खंभा ऊरू नाही वावी सुणालिया बाहा । नयणाई कुवलयाई दसणा उण कुंद्कलियाओ ॥ छण सिसंडलमाणणं पाणीपाया य तुज्झ पउमाई । सिसिरोवयारमह्यासि किं तहवि दिवाणिसं दृहेसि दृइए ॥५६॥

[कद्छीस्तम्भावूरू; नाभिर्वापी; मृणाछिके बाहू । नयने कुवछये; दशनाः पुनः कुन्दकछिकाः ॥ क्षणशशिमण्डलमाननं पाणी पादौ च तव पद्मानि । शिशिरोपचारमय्यासि किं तथापि दिवानिशं दहसि दयिते ॥५६॥]

अष्टपदीपकरणम् । अथ नवपदी । दोहकादियुता मात्राजातिर्वस्तुसंज्ञा । रह्नेत्यन्ये । आदिशब्दादवदोहकोपदोहकपरिग्रहः ।

> उदा०---पुब्वपब्वयरायसियछत्तु । तमकुंजरपंचमुहु । रयणिरमाणि-माणिक्वद्ण्णु ।

नहकमलाकरकमलु । अमयकलसु जगदाहश्चंपणु ॥ संश्रजटालयणीकुसुमु । कंदप्पदुमकंदु । सयलवृत्थुआत्थिककरु । तो उम्मिल्लइ चंदु ॥ ६२ ॥ [पूर्वपर्वतराजसितच्छत्रं । तमःकुक्षरपञ्चमुखो । रजनिरमणी-

माणिक्यद्र्पणः॥

नभःकमछाकरकमछं । अमृतकछशो जगद्दाहशामकः ॥ शंभुजटाछताकुमुमं । कन्दर्पद्रमकन्दः ॥ सकछवस्त्वास्तिक्यकरः । तत उन्मछिति चन्दः ॥ ६२ ॥

ल्याणिति लता । एवमेवावदोहकोपदोहकयोरप्युदाहार्यम् । नवपदीप्रकरणम् । अथ द्रापदी । दोहय घत्ताउ दुहंगिया; अहुक्षालसंज्या वन्थू।
होइ तिहंगी; अह खंडज्यलमीई दुवइखंडं ॥ ३६ ॥
[दोहा च घत्ता द्विभङ्गी; अथोक्षालसंयुता वस्तुः।
भवति त्रिभङ्गी; अथ खण्डयुगलं गीतिश्च द्विपदीखण्डम् ॥३६॥]
दोहकजात्यन्ते घत्ताजितितेवमापि द्विभङ्गी।
उदा॰—को नेसइ संदेसडा। सिह देसडाति दूरि॥
बंदिमुहि पडइ संठविउ। गुरु सूरप्पहसूरि॥
इस्व गुद्धिद्विय। गुरु उक्कंठिय। अविरल रहमुत्ताल।
भुष्ठइ रंगिहिं। नवनवभंगिहिं। माल(व)देसीवाल ॥ ६३॥
दुहंगी तिलयमृरिस्य।

को नेष्यति संदेशं । साहि देशोति दूरे ॥

* * । गुरुः सूरप्रभसूरिः ॥

11 53 11]

द्विभङ्गी तिलकसूरेः ॥

द्शपदीप्रकरणम् । अथैकाद्शपदी । अथोछारुकाभ्यां संयुता वन्धात्ति वस्तु-जातिश्चिमङ्गी भवति । त्रयो भङ्गाश्च्छन्दश्चयरूपा अस्यां सा त्रिमङ्गी ।

> उदा०—गहिरु जल्रहरसुरव वज्झाति। घणु नच्चिहि विज्जुल्थिय। महुर मोर गायंति सुस्तर।

> > दहुरत्व घष्घरिय । रुणझुर्णात घणघोसनिष्भर ॥
> > वप्पीहयबंदिणावि सर । छन्दावसर रसंति ।
> > जलधाराधोरणिमिसिण । वायण पयड पढंति ॥
> > इम्व निष्भरु बहुइ धरवल्ड स्यललोयरतियावण्ड ॥
> > सहरिसअणंगनिवसच्चविउ अहिणवु पाउसपिक्सण्ड ॥६४॥
> > सम्भारा जन्द्रभग्नास्त्र सारान्ते । सह सर्वारि विद्युत्त ।

[गम्भीरा जलधरमुरजा वायन्ते । बहु नृत्यित वियुत् । मधुरं मयूरा गायन्ति सुस्वरम् ॥

द्दुरस्वधर्षिकाः । रुणझुणन्ति घनघोषिनर्भराः ॥ चातकबन्दीनामपि स्वराः । छण्धावसरा रसन्ति ॥ जलधाराधोरणिमिषेण । वायनानि प्रकटं पतन्ति ॥ इति निर्भरं वर्तते धरावलये सकललोक । सहर्षानक्रुगनृपदृष्टमभिनवं प्राबृद्येक्षणकम् ॥ ६४ ॥]

एकाद्दापदीप्रकरणम् । अथ द्वाद्दापदी । खण्डयुग्छान्ते गीतिः सामान्येन त्रिभक्षी विशेषेण दिपदीखण्डम् । उदा • - कुसुमाउहिपयदूययं । मउलार्वितो चूययं । सिढिलियमाणग्गहणउ । वायइ दाहिणपवणउ ॥ वियलियबउलामेलओ । इच्छियपिययममेलओ । पडिवालणअसमन्थओ । तम्मइ जुवईसन्थओ ॥ इय पढमं महुमासो जगस्स हिययाइ कुणइ मडयाइ ॥ ६५ ॥ पच्छा विंधइ मयणो लख्यसरेहिं कुसुमबाणेहिं॥ स्पष्टम् । दुवईखंडं सिरिहरिसएवस्स ।

[कुसुमायुधिपयदूतकं । मुकुलयंश्चूतकम् । शिथिलितमानग्रहणो । वाति दक्षिणपवनः ॥ विग्राखितबकुछामेछकः । इच्छितप्रियतममेछनः । प्रतिपालनासमर्थः । ताम्यति युवतिसार्थः ॥ इति प्रथमं मधुमासो जनस्य हृद्यानि करोति मृद्नि । पश्चाद्विध्यति मद्नो लब्धप्रसरैः कुसुमबाणैः ॥ ६५ ॥

द्विपदीखण्डं श्रीहर्षदेवस्य ॥

घत्तादुगं दुहंगी; तिहंगिया दुवइखंडगीईओ । पज्झाडियाइचउकं कडवं; ताणं गणो संधी ॥ ३७ ॥ [घत्ताद्वयं दिभङ्गी; त्रिभङ्गिका दिपदीखण्डगीती। पद्धतिकादिचतुष्कं कडवं; तेषां गणः संधिः ॥ ३७ ॥]

घत्ताजास्यन्ते घत्ताजातिरेषापि द्विभङ्गी ॥ ३७ ॥ उदा • — किणि अवरिहि बुज्झिउ । मुग्गडु बज्झिउ । वारिउ जूउवि

कयथम्मन्भंसह । महुरामंसह । नाउवि मूछह निद्वविउ ॥ मरणढभयभीयहं। सन्वहं जीयहं। वज्झाविउ अभयण्डहु। रे रायहु रहसिहिं। सहुं कुमरसिहिं। तुडिवडंत किन सिंटपढहु ॥६६॥ [केरपरेर्बुध्यते । मृतस्वमुज्झितं । वारितं यूतमपि वैरीभूतम् ॥ कृतधर्मभ्रंशयोः । मदिरामांसयो । नामापि मूलतो निर्नाशितम् ॥ मरणभयभीतानां । सर्वेषां जीवानां । वादितोऽभयपटहः ?॥ रे राजानी रभसेन । स्वयं कुमारसिंहेन । तोयमानाः किं न पति-ष्यथ ॥ ६६॥

रे शष्टः(ब्दः) (हे ८.२.२०१) संभाषणे। तुर्डित्ति संरभे। प्राग् द्विपदी ततः खण्डाचि श्रूचना(१)वलम्बकस्तद्नते गीतिरियमपि त्रिभङ्गी।

> उदा० — विरहिणिहिययघोरवज्जासणिनिवडणघोसभेरवा पसरहि मयणरञ्जपयासणपणवा कोइछारवा ।

7 [Annals, B. O. R. L.]

वाइहिं मलयपवण घणमाणिणिमाणधणिक्कतक्करा निद्दयसुरयसमरसम्मद्दिकलामियमिद्रुणसुहयरा॥ दोला लोला चालिया। ससिरीया वणमालिया। असिसिरउण्हा वासरा। रयणी जुण्हामणहरा॥ इय प्रिसे वसंते महुयरझंकारमुहलियवणंते। मुत्तूण ममं वच्चंत कंत अच्चंतकठिणचित्तोसि॥ ६७॥

[विरहिणी इदयघोरवजाशानिनिपतनघोषभैरवाः प्रसरन्ति मदनराज्यप्रकाशनपणवाः कोकिलारवाः । वान्ति मलयवाता घनमानिनीमानधनैकतस्कराः निर्दयमुरतसमरसंमर्दकान्तभिथुनमुखकराः॥

वोछा छोछा चाछिता । सश्रीका बनमाछिका ॥ अज्ञिज्ञिरोष्णा वासराः । रजनी ज्योत्स्नामनोहरा ॥

इतीवृशे वसन्ते मधुकरझंकारमुखरितवनान्ते । मुक्त्वा मां व्रजन् कान्त अत्यन्तकठिनिचत्तोऽसि ॥ ६७ ॥

स्पष्टा । अन्यैरिप छन्दोभिः श्रुतिसुखैश्चिभिश्चिभङ्की । तत्र पूर्वं मक्षरी पश्चान्खाण्डिता ततो भिड्का यथा—

उच्छलंतछप्पयक्रलगिइभंगधरे विप्कुरंतक्रलयंठिकंठपंचमसरे। सज्जमाणहिंडोलालवणपसाहिए चच्चरिपडहुद्दामसद्दसंखोहिए॥

वियसियरत्तासोयलए । केसरकुसुमामोयमए ।
पप्कुहियमायंदवणे । घणघोलिरदक्षिणपवणे ॥
इय परिसंमि चित्तए जस्स ण पासंमि अत्थि पियमाणुसं ।
सो कह जियइ वयंसिए विद्धो मयरद्धयस्स भक्षियाहिं॥ ५७॥

[उच्छल्षद्पद्कलगीतमङ्गिधरे
विस्फुरत्कलकण्ठीकण्ठपश्चमस्तरे ।
सज्जमानहिन्दोलालवनप्रसाधिते
चर्चरीपटहोद्दामशब्दसंक्षोभिते ॥
विकसितरक्ताशोकलते । केसरकुसुमामोद्मये ॥
प्रफुल्लितमाकन्द्वने । घनघूर्णमानदक्षिणपवने ॥
इतीदृशे चैत्रे यस्य न पार्श्वेऽस्ति प्रियमनुष्यम् ।
स कथं जीवति साखी विद्धो मकरध्वजस्य बाणैः ॥ ५७ ॥]
एते च द्विमक्नीत्रिमङ्ग्यौ शीर्षकाख्ये । द्वादृशपदीप्रकरणम् ।

अय षोडशपदी । पद्धटिकादिछन्दांसि चत्वारि कडवकम् । आदिशब्दादृद-नादिपरिग्रहः । तेषां च कडवकानां गणः संधिसंज्ञः ।

> उदा॰-- पुरुगुञ्जरमंडिल अइसमिद्धु । अणहिल्लनयरु नामिहि पसिद्धु । तहि सिरिचाउक्कडवंसजाय । वणरायपमुह हुय बहुयराय ॥ अह कालकिमण रणरंगम् । रिउरायचकिहियहकसल । चालुक्कवंसपंकयमरालु । तत्थासि नराहिबु कुमरवालु ॥ बहुदिहिण बहुपरिकरिसमग्गु। तिणि सम्मु परिक्लिउ धम्ममग्गु] जिणसासणु बहुगुणु भाणि पवत्तु । न विवेयस्र विक्रं तुरुइ सयत्तुं ॥ नहलग्गसिहराजिणहराणिवेस । मणहर असेस तिणि विहिय देस । तसु सरिसु नरेसरु मणुयलोइ। न हु हुयड न होसइ निथ

कोइ॥ ६८॥

[पुरुगुर्जरमण्डले अतिसमृद्धं । नगरमणहिञ्जनाम्ना प्रसिद्धम् । तत्र श्रीचापोन्कटवंशजाताः । वनराजप्रमुखा जाता बहुनृपाः॥ अथ कालक्रमेण रणङ्गमलः। रिपुराजचक्रहृद्यैकशल्यम्॥ चालुक्यवंशपङ्कजमरालः । तत्रासीन्नराधिपः कुमारपालः ॥ बहुद्विसैर्बहुपरिकरसमग्रः। तेन सम्यक्परीक्षितो धर्ममार्गः॥ जिनशासनं बहुगुणं भणित्वा प्रवृत्तः । न विवेकछक्ष्ये तोल्यते मुद्दितः ॥ नभो छ प्रशिखरीजनगृहनिवेशः। मनोहगेशेषस्तेन विहितो देशः॥ तस्य सद्शो नरेश्वरो मनुजलोके । न खलु भूतो न भविष्यति नास्ति-कोपि ॥ ६८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । सन्ध्युदाहरणं प्रतीतम् । षोडदापदीप्रकरणम् । इति कविदर्पणवृत्तौ दितीयोदेशः ॥ गाथा ३७ मूछोदाहरणानि ६८ टीकोदाहरणानि ५७॥

। श्रीः । तृतीयोद्देशः ।

अथ वर्णच्छन्दः।

इसो वुच्छं सन्वंपि छाहवन्थं सखक्खलक्खणयम्। वसच्छंदे वित्तं अहिकिज्जहः तं पुणो तिविहस् ॥ १ ॥ [इतो वक्ष्ये सर्वमपि छाघवार्थं सलक्ष्यलक्षणकम्। वर्णच्छन्दे वृत्तमधिकियते तत्पुनस्रिविधम् ॥ १ ॥

इतो मात्राच्छन्द्सोनन्तरं सर्वमपि वर्णच्छन्द् उभयच्छन्द्श्च सलक्ष्यलक्षणकं बक्ष्ये । तदेवोदाहरणं तदेव सूत्रमित्यर्थः। लक्षणकमिति स्वार्थे कः । किमर्थं रीतिभक्क इत्याह-लाघवार्थस् । भिष्मलक्षणत्वे हि ग्रन्थगौरवं स्यात् । मात्राच्छन्दस्त लक्ष्यैः सुङ्ग्रंयिमिति तथोक्तम् । इदं चादाँ प्रपश्चितमेव । तथा वर्णच्छन्दासि वृत्तमिषिकियते । इतो यद्दक्ष्यते तद्दुत्ताख्यिमित्यर्थः । तच्च स्थिरगुरुछघ्वक्षरिविन्यासिमिष्यते । पाठं न(?) संयोगयोरभावात् । मात्राच्छन्दस्तु जात्याख्यम् । यदाह-पयं चतुष्पदी तच्च वृत्तं जातिरिति । एतत्पुनर्वृत्तं त्रिविधं तथाहि—

सममद्भसमं विसमं तत्थ समं ताव तुल्लचउपायम् । तुल्लद्धं अद्भसमं; अतुल्लसन्वप्पयं विसमम् ॥ २ ॥ [सममर्थसमं विषमं तत्र समं तावत्तृल्यचतुष्पादम् । तुल्यार्थमर्थसमं; अतुल्यसर्वपादं विषमम् ॥ २ ॥

समवृत्तमर्थसमवृतं विषमवृत्तम् । तत्र त्रिके तावतुल्यलक्षणेश्चतुर्भिः पादैः समवृत्तम् । तुल्यलक्षणाभ्यामर्थाभ्यामर्थसमवृत्तम् । विसदृशैः सर्वेः पादैविषमवृत्तम् ।

> तेसु समे एगक्खरमुहछन्वीसक्खरंतचउपाई । छन्वीस हुंति जाई; तो सेसं दंडया तत्तो ॥ ३ ॥ [तेषु समे एकाक्षरमुखषड्रविँशत्यक्षरान्तचतुष्पायः । षड्रविँशातिभवान्ति जातयस्ततः शेषं दण्डकास्तस्मात् ॥ ३ ॥]

तेषु त्रिषु समवृत्ते चतुर्णा पादानां समाहारश्चतुष्पादी । एकाक्षरादिः षड्विंशत्यक्षरान्ता चतुष्पादी यासु ताः षड्विंशतिर्जातयः स्युस्ततः सेसंति शेष-जातिस्ततो दण्डकजातिः।

उत्त अइउत्त मण्झा पइट्ट सुपइट्ट तह्नय गाइती।
उण्ही अणुहुभ विहर्इ पंती तिहुउ जगइअइजगई॥४॥
सक्करिअइसक्करिया अट्टी अइआट्टि धिइअअइधिइउ।
किइ पाविसमभिउप्परिकर्इ य जाईण नामाई॥५॥
[उक्तान्युक्ता मध्या प्रतिष्ठासुप्रतिष्ठे तथा च गायत्री।
उष्णिगनुष्ठुब्बृहती पङ्गक्तिस्चिष्टुप् जगत्यतिजगती॥४॥
शक्वर्यतिशक्वर्यो अष्टिरत्यष्टिपूर्तिरतिपृतिः।
कृतिः प्राविसमभ्युत्परतः कृतयश्च जातीनां नामानि॥५॥

उनता १ अत्युक्ता २ मध्या ३ प्रतिष्ठा ४ सुप्रतिष्ठा ५ तथा च गायत्री ६ उम्लिक् ७ अनुष्ठुप् ८ बृहती ९ पङ्गिक्तः १० त्रिष्ठुप् ११ जगती १२ अतिजगती १३ शक्वरी १४ अतिशक्वरी १५ अष्टिः १६ अत्यष्टिः १७ प्रतिः १८ अतिप्रतिः १९ कृतिः २० प्र । आ । वि । सम् । अभि । उत् । एभ्यः परा कृतिश्च । प्रकृतिः २१ आकृतिः २२ विकृतिः २३ संस्कृतिः २३ अभिकृतिः २५ उन्कृतिः २६ जातीनां नामानि । उक्ता नाम एकैकाक्षराङ्घिभेदसंग्रहात्मिका जातिस्ततः एकैकाक्षरवृद्धा- इम्ब्रयोऽत्युक्ताद्यस्तत्र ब्रक्षराङ्घिरत्युक्ता । षड्विशत्यक्षराङ्घिरत्युक्तीः ।

इति कविद्र्पणवृत्ती नृतीयोद्देशः।

अथ चतुर्थोद्देशः।

[In this chapter, Sanskrit rendering of the text is not given as it is quite unnecessary. It has been dropped even where it is given in the commentary.]

अथ जातीनामुपयोगिभेदानाह—

गो गी ॥ १ ॥ सर्वाङ्गिष्वेको गुरुगींच्छन्द् ॥ १ ॥ उक्ता ॥ १ ॥ दो गा इत्थी ॥ २ ॥

द्दी गुरू श्रीच्छन्दः। अत्युक्ता ॥ २ ॥ एकेनाङ्ब्रिणा प्राकृते छक्ष्म वक्तुमश-क्यमिति द्दाभ्यामुक्तमतः परं त्वेककेन समानि, द्वाभ्यामर्धसमानि विषमाणि वैता-छीयानि च वक्ष्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥

> मो नारी ॥ ३ ॥ रो मिगी ॥ ४ ॥ स्पष्टम् ॥ मध्या ॥ ३ ॥ मोगो कन्ना ॥ ५ ॥ यगा वीला ॥ ६ ॥ प्रतिष्ठा ॥ ४ ॥ नन्दा तलगा ॥ ७ ॥ जया योलगा ॥ ८ ॥ सुप्रतिष्ठा ॥ ५ ॥ ताया तणुमज्झा ॥ ९ ॥ यया सोमराई ॥ १० ॥ गायत्री ॥ ६ ॥ मोसोगो मयलेहा ॥ ११ ॥ इंसमाला ररगो ॥ १२ ॥उष्णिक् ॥ ७ ॥

दोमा दोगा विज्जूमाला ॥ १३॥ भोतलगा माणवकं ॥ १४॥ चित्तवया भगुरूदो ॥ १५॥ नारायओ तरालगा ॥ १६॥ वसू लगा पमाणिया ॥ १७॥ उक्कमे समाणिया उ ॥ १८॥ इओय असं वियाणं ॥ १९

टीकाः-चतुर्भिर्यतिरतुक्तापि ज्ञेया ॥ १३ ॥ अत्रापि चतुर्भिर्यतिः ॥ १४॥१५॥ १६॥ अष्टनिरन्तरा छगाः प्रमाणिका ॥ १७ ॥ प्रमाणिकाया विपर्यये समानिका अष्टौ निरन्तरा गछा इत्यर्थः ॥ १८ ॥ एभ्यः प्रागुक्तेभ्यो प्रन्थान्तरोक्तेभ्यश्वकारा-दृक्ष्यमाणेभ्योऽन्यसमृत्र्तं वितानम् ॥ १९ ॥ अनुष्टम् ॥ ८ ॥

रोनसा किर हलमुही ॥ २० ॥ मोनोयो मगरलयाए ॥ २१ ॥ नसयघडिया विसाला ॥ २२ ॥

टीकाः--किछेत्याप्रोक्तौ ॥ २० ॥ बृहती ॥ ९ ॥

मोरसारणी रजारगंता ॥ २३ ॥ मोसो सुद्धविराडिया जगा ॥ २४ ॥ नरजगा इमा मणोरमा ॥ २५ ॥ चंपयमालेयं भमसागो ॥ २६ ॥ पार्ड्सः ॥१०॥

रोनरा लहुगुरू रहुद्धया ॥ २७ ॥ सागया उ रनभा दुगुरंता ॥ २८ ॥ भति-गदोगुरु दोषयछंदं ॥ २९ ॥ ननरलहुगुरूहिं भिद्या ॥ २० ॥ रोजरा लहू गुरू य सेणिया ॥ ३१ ॥ न जजलहू सगुरू सुम्रही ॥३२॥ नजुगसगणदुगुरू चित्ता ॥३३॥ तो जो जगगानि उवद्विया सा ॥ ३४ ॥ उवद्वियमिमं जो सो तगागो ॥ ३३ ॥ मो दो तागा सालिणी सायरेहिं ॥ ३६ ॥ वाउम्मी मो तह भो तो गुरू दो ॥ ३७ ॥ तो तो जगागो पुण इंदवज्जा ॥ २८ ॥ उविंदवज्जा जतजा गुरू दो ॥ ३९ ॥

परुप्परं दुण्हिमिमाण पायाविमिस्सणं चुद्सहोवजाई ॥ जाईण इत्तोवरपच्छिमाण सन्वाण बुद्धेहिं पुणो वहुद्वा ॥ ४० ॥

टीकाः—॥ २७॥२८॥२९॥३०॥३१॥३२॥३१॥३५॥ सागरैरिति चतुर्भिर्मितः ॥ ३६॥ सागरैरिति (अनु)वर्तते ॥ ३०॥३८॥३९॥ अनयोरम्रतः पृष्ठतश्च प्रत्यक्षयोरिन्द्रवज्रोपेन्द्रवज्रयोरिन्द्रवंशावंशस्थयोश्चान्योन्यं पाद्विमिश्रणं अङ्गिष्ठिनः उपजातिः। सा च प्रस्तारभेदाच्चनुर्दश्चा। स्थापना चेयम्। आयन्तौ मुक्त्वा चतुर्दश क्षेयाः । समृत्रचप्रस्तावेपि उपजातीनामुपन्यासो लाघवार्थः । बहुश्रुतैसनु इतः परासां जगत्यादीनां पश्चिमानामुक्तादीनां प्रायो गायज्यादीनां कृतनामाकृतनामविसदृशपस्ताररूपस्वस्वपादानां स्वल्पभदानं सर्वासां जातीनां संकर उपजातिरुपदिष्टा यथाः—

युचिष्ठिरो धर्ममयो महाद्रुमः स्कन्धोर्जुनो भीमसेनोस्य शाखा ॥ मादीसुती पुष्पफले समुख्रे मूलं कृष्णो बह्म च ब्राह्मणाश्च ॥ ४० ॥ त्रिष्ठुप् ॥ ११ ॥

सा इंदवंसा उ तता जरा जिहें ॥ ४१ ॥ मुणेह वंसत्थिमिणं जताजरा ॥ ४२ ॥ जत्थ रा हुंति चत्तारि सा सम्मिणी ॥ ४२ ॥ जिहें वेयया तं भुयंमप्पयायं ॥ ४४ ॥ चउसं मुण तोडयमित्थ पुणो ॥ ४५ ॥ दुयविलंबिय नाम नभा भरा ॥ ४६ ॥ पिम-यक्खरा सजजसेहिं कया ॥ ४७ ॥ जभा जरा जिहामिमा पियंवया ॥ ४८ ॥ नयनयबद्धा कुसुमविचित्ता ॥ ४९ ॥ पमुद्द्यवयणा नना रहुगं ॥ ५० ॥ इहिं नजेहि जरेहि मालई ॥ ५१ ॥ निसुणह तामरसं नजजायो ॥ ५२ ॥ रवी लगा कमा वसंतचत्तरं ॥ ५२ ॥ दोमा या नेया पंचिहं वेसप्वी ॥ ५४॥ जलुद्ध्यगई छिहं जसजसा ॥ ५५ ॥ इत्थं पुण तोयो तोयो मणिमाला ॥ ५६ ॥ नदुगिमह पुडो मो यो वसूिहं ॥ ५७ ॥

टीकाः—॥ ४१॥४२॥४३॥ यत्र याश्वत्वारस्तद्भुजङ्गप्रयातम् ॥ ४४॥४५॥४६॥ ४७॥४८॥४९॥५०॥५१॥५२ ॥ द्वादशः लगाः कमाद्दसन्तचत्वरम् ॥ ५३॥ पञ्चभि-र्यतिः ॥५४॥ षड्भिर्यतिः ॥५५॥ षड्भिरिति वर्तते ॥५६॥ वसुभिरष्टाभिर्यतिः ॥५७॥ जगती ॥१२॥

मो नो जो पहरिसिणी रमा सिहीहिं ॥५८॥ मो तो यो सो मो चउहिं मत्तमयूरं ॥५९॥ जभासजा ग्ररु रुइरा भाणिज्ञए ॥३०॥ नदुगतरमणा मीय चंदि-याए ॥६१॥

टीकाः—त्रिभिर्यतिः ॥५८॥ चतुर्भिर्यतिः ॥५९॥ चतुर्भिर्यतिरिति वर्तते ॥६०॥ अतिजगती ॥१३॥

तोभो वसंतितिलया जदुगं गुरू दो ॥६२॥ जलहिनपरगुरुदुगमुवित्तम् ॥६३॥ बाणेहिं मो तो नसदुगुरु असंबाहा ॥६४॥ इसिहि ननरसा लगा अवराइया ॥६५॥ परणकलिया ननभनलगुरू ॥६६॥

टीकाः—चतुर्नगणपरं गुरुद्धिकमुपचित्रम् ॥६३॥ पश्चाभेर्यतिः ॥६४॥ सप्त-भिर्यतिः ॥६५॥ ऋषिभिरिति वर्तते ॥६६॥ शक्वरी ॥१४॥

बाणा मा जिस्स तं कामक्किला नामं नायब्वं ॥६०॥ चउदसलहुयपरगुरु सासि-कला ॥६८॥ रोजराजरा गणा जिहें तामित्थ तोणयं ॥६९॥ हवइ पभद्दकं नजभजा तहेव रो ॥७०॥ आसेहिं चंदलेहाछंदं मरा मो ययौ यो ॥७१॥ ननमययगणहुा मालिणी पन्नगेहिं ॥७२॥ एसा चित्ता बुत्ता जीए तिन्नि मा किंच दोया ॥७३॥

टीकाः—यस्मिनपञ्च मास्तत्कामकीडा नाम ज्ञातव्यम् ॥ ६७॥६८॥६९॥७० ॥ सप्तर्भिर्यतिः ॥७१॥ अष्टभिर्यतिः ॥७२॥ पत्रगैरिति वर्तते ॥७२॥ अतिशक्वरी ॥१५॥

स पंचचामरो जिहें छहुगुरू निवा कमा ॥७४॥ तोणयस्स अंतए कएण गेण चित्तमुत्तं ॥७५॥ आसगई उण पंचिह भेहिं तहा गुरुणा ॥७६॥ परिकहिया न जा भजरगा य वाणिणीए ॥७७॥ नजरभभा गुरू जिहें सा मणिकप्पलया ॥७८॥ भण दुगुणवसुछहुमचलदिहिमिह ॥७९॥

टीकाः —यत्र छघुगुरवः कमात् षोडश ॥७४॥ पूर्वोक्तस्य तोणकस्य । पश्च-चामरव्यत्ययः सगुरुरित्यर्थः ॥ ७५॥७६॥७७॥७८॥ द्विगुणवसवः षोडशलघवी यस्यां ॥७९॥ अष्टिः ॥१६॥

मंद्कंता चउहिं रिउहिं मोभनातोतगागो ॥८०॥ रिउहिं चउहिं नोसोमोरो-सला हरिणी गुरू ॥८१॥ रसेहिं निद्दिष्टा यमनसभलागो सिहरिणी ॥८२॥ वसूहिं पुहवी जसाजसयला तहंते गुरू ॥८३॥ पंतिहि वंसपत्तपढियं भरतभनलगा ॥८३॥

टीकाः--चतुर्भिः षड्भिश्च यतिः ॥८०॥ षड्भिश्चतुर्भिश्च यतिः ॥८१॥ षड-भिर्यतिः ॥८२॥ अष्टभिर्यतिः ॥८३॥ दशाभिर्यतिः ॥८४॥ अत्यष्टिः ॥१७॥

नजुगलरचउक्कानिष्किया विश्वया तारया ॥८५॥ भोरननानसा नवहि निसु-णह भमरवयं ॥८६॥

दीकाः--॥८५॥ नवभिर्यतिः ॥८६॥ धृतिः ॥१८॥

तरुणीवयर्णिदुमिमं कहियं सगणा छ तहा गो ॥८०॥ मोसोजो सतता गुरू य रविहिं सह्छविक्रीडियं ॥८८॥

टीकाः--॥८७॥ द्वादशाभिर्यतिः ॥८८॥ अतिधृतिः ॥१९॥

गालहू निरंतरा जिंह तु वीस तं खु जाण चित्त नाम ॥८९॥ वुत्ताः सत्तद्दुगेणं मरभनयभला गंता सुवयणा ॥९०॥

टीकाः--खलु निश्चयात् ॥ ८९॥ सप्तभिः सप्तभिर्यतिः ॥ ९० ॥ कृतिः ॥२०॥

बुहयणसम्मया नजभजा जदुगं रगणो य सिद्धिया ॥९१॥ आसेहिं भूधरेहिं मरभनययया सद्धरा नाम नेया ॥९२॥

टीकाः--॥९१॥ अश्वेर्भूधेरैर्यतिः सप्तभिः सप्तभिरित्यर्थः ॥ ९२ ॥ प्रकृतिः ॥ २१ ॥

सप्तभनिन्मियमंतपङ्द्वियएगगुरू य लयाकुसुमं ॥९३॥ भद्दयमुल्लवंति विजसा भरानरनरानगा य दसहिँ ॥९४॥

टीकाः--- ॥९३॥ द्शाभिर्यतिः ॥९४॥ आक्वातिः ॥२२॥

रो नराजरनराछहूगुरू तहा जिंह तिमह बिंति चित्तयं ॥ ९५ ॥ मत्तक्कीला मोमोतोनो सिहिनपरछहुगुरु भुयगङ्गसुहिं ॥९६॥

टीका:--॥९५॥ शिखिनपरी त्रिनपरी भुजगैरष्टभिरिषुभिः पश्चभिर्यतिः ॥९६॥ विक्वतिः ॥२३॥

नगणदुगरछक्कयं मेहमालित्त छंदं पयंपंति छंदन्तुया ॥९७॥ बिंति सुभद्दयना-मयछंदमिहं भगणेहिं बुहा किर अट्टहिं ॥९८॥ संकृतिः ॥२४॥

कुंचपया भोमोसभनानो नगणजुगल गुरुइसु इसु वसुर्हि ॥९९॥ सा हंसवया जीए दसहिं तयभमजलिहनगणपरगुरुगं ॥१००॥

टिकाः—पश्चभिरष्टभिर्यतिः ॥९९॥ द्शाभिर्यतिः ॥१००॥ अभिकृतिः ॥ २५ । मो मो तो नो नो नो रो सो छहुगुरुवसुपसुवइहिं भुयंगवियंभियं ॥१०१॥ मो ना छन्त्रिय जहिं नवछछहिं सगणदुगुरुणिहणमववाहं तं ॥ १०२ ॥

टीकाः—अष्टिभिरेकाद्शिभर्यतिः ॥ १०१ ॥ नविभः षड्भिर्यातिः ॥ १०२ ॥ उत्कृतिः ॥ २३ ॥ उक्तादिकपकरणम् ॥ शेषजातिः ॥

मालावित्तं सेसजाईइ मोतोतगणनगणजुगलं यत्तिगं संकरेहिं ॥ १०३ ॥ टीकाः--मस्तस्तयुगंनयुगं यत्रिकं मालावृत्तं शेषजातौ एकादशिभर्यतिः । पवं प्रमोदमहोदयवृत्तललितललितलतापिपीलिकाया अप्यूह्याः । शेषजाति-प्रकरणम् ॥१०३॥ अथ दण्डकाः ॥

> छन्वीसक्खरअहियं दीसइ जं किचि रूवयं छंदे । तं दंडयंति पभणंति सेसजाइं विमुत्तूण ॥ १०४ ॥

त द्डयात पर्नणात सत्तजाइ विसुत्तण ॥ १०४॥
नदुगरगणसत्तयं जत्थ सो दंडओ चंडबुद्दिष्पयायो मए विश्वओ ॥१०५॥
जहकम सित्तेहबुद्धीइ अञ्चन्नव्याळजीमूयळीळायरुद्दामसंरवाइआ॥१०६॥
पिचययमिह नजुम्माउ याईहिं सव्वेहिं निव्वत्तियं सत्तुक्तो कएहिं ॥१०७॥
जहिच्छया ळहूगुरू निरंतरा हवंति जत्थ दंडओ इमो अणंगसेहरो ॥१०८॥
वच्चयम्मि एयमेव छेयळोयकञ्चदिन्नसुक्त्या असोयपुष्पमंजरित्ति ॥१०९॥
टीकाः—षड्विंशत्यक्षराधिकं शेषजातेरन्ययन्तिमपि छन्दसि रूपकं दृश्यते
तहण्डकमित्याहुर्वुद्धाः । थथोक्तम् ।

यर्किचिद्दृश्यते छन्दः षड्विंशत्यक्षराधिकम् ॥ शेषजात्यादिकं मुक्त्वा तत्सवं दण्डकं विदुः ॥१०४॥१०५॥ चण्डवृष्टिप्रयातस्योध्वं । सिरेहित एकैकरगणवृध्या यथाक्रममणीया दण्ड-काः स्युः। एवं नगणाम्यां परेरष्टभीरगणेरणः। नविभरणीयो द्शिभव्यां एकाद्श-भिर्जीमूतो द्वादशिभिर्जीलाकरस्रयोदशिभक्दामश्चतुर्दशिभः शङ्कः। आदिशब्दात्प-श्चदशिमः समुद्रः। षोडपिभर्भुजङ्ग इत्येवमाद्यो यथेष्टकृतनामानो यावदेकोनसद्व स्नाक्षराः पादास्तावद्भवान्त ॥१०६॥ इहानुक्रमेण नयुग्मान्नगणवर्जं यगणादिसर्व-वर्णगणः सप्तकृत्वः क्रुतैनिर्वितिं प्रचलितकं नाम दण्डकः॥ अत्रापि सप्तानां यगणादीनामुपर्येकैकयगणादिवृद्धचा अर्णायाः स्युः पूर्ववत् ॥१००॥१०८॥ एतदे-वानङ्गशेखररूपकं व्यत्यये निरन्तरगुरुष्ठघुत्वे छेकलोककर्णद्त्रसास्या अशोकपुष्य-मञ्जरीति दण्डकजातिः॥१०९॥ समवृत्तप्रकरणम् ॥ अथार्धसमवृत्तान्याह ।

सितंगं छगुरू विसमे समे । भित्तगढ़ोगुरुआवुवित्तं ॥११०॥ विसमंभि उवंतछमुकं। तंत्रिय वेगवंइ मुण छुंदं ॥१११॥ विसमे सजासगणगंता। केउमई समे भरनगागो ॥११२॥ रोजरा य जो य ओयपाययंमि। समे जराजरा गुरू मई जवाइ ॥११३॥ सितंगं विसमे छहुओं गरू। नभभरा य समे हरिणुद्ध्या ॥११४॥ ओयसमेसु कमा दुयमण्झा। तिभदुगुरू अह नो जदुगं यो ॥११५॥ इह किर विसमंमि नो नरायो। नजजरगा समयंमि पुष्णियग्गा ॥११६॥ निहणसिगुरुंमि उज्झिये। दुस्विव इमावरवत्तसंत्रिया॥११७॥

टीकाः -- विषमे प्रथमे तृतीयेङ्ग्रौ ॥११०॥ आपाति केयम् ॥१११॥११२॥ यववतीत्यर्थः ॥ १११॥११४ ॥ उपित्रा आपाति का अपरान्ति केयम् ॥११५॥ औपच्छन्द्रिकमेतत् ॥ ११६ ॥ वैतालीयमेतत् ॥ आस्यानकीविपरीतास्यान-क्यानुपजात्यन्तर्गतत्वास्रोक्ते ॥ विषमे नव नगणा लघुगुरूः समे द्शनगणा गुरुः शिखा । विषमे नगणदृशकं गुरुः समे नगणनवकं स्रघुगुरू खञ्जा । द्रयोरप्यर्थयोनवनवनगणा गुरुरातिस्विरेत्यादि ग्रन्थान्तराज्ज्ञेयम् । ११७ ॥ अध-समृत्यप्रकरणम् ॥

अणुद्भुभे गणा सब्वे अनसा आइवन्नाओ ॥ यो चउत्थाउ ओयंतटाउ गोलो व वत्तांति ॥ ११८ ॥ पत्थावत्तं समप्पाए यगणे जगणो जई ॥ तदेव विसमंमि जो समे यो विवरीयाई ॥११९॥ वं चेव होइ चवला नगणेण जगणंमि ॥ विवखा सार्में जीए किज्जए सत्तमो लहू ॥१२०॥

चउसुं सेयवस्स सा ॥१२१॥ मो मन्विडिला ओयंमि ॥१२२॥ तहेव नो निविडिला ॥१२३॥ भो जइ ता भन्विडिला ॥१२४॥ से स्विडिला ड नेया ॥१२५॥ सो जन्य सविडिला सा ॥१२६॥ तो तिविडिला अक्खिया ॥१२७॥

^{8 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

टीकाः-अथ विषमवृत्तान्याह । अनुष्टुभि अष्टाक्षरायां जातौ पादस्याबा-दक्षरात्परे नमणसमणवर्जं सर्वे षडपि गणाः स्युश्चतुर्थादक्षरात्परो यमणः पादस्याः दावन्ते गुरुर्लघुर्वा स्यात्तद्वक्त्रमिति ज्ञेयम् । आग्राङ्घेरायस्थाने ग्लाविति दौ भेदौ: द्वितीये नसवर्जनाच्छेषमणैः षद् । तृतीयं च एकः । तुर्ये ग्लाविति द्वौ । अन्योन्या-भ्यासे चतुर्विशातिः । प्रत्यङ्गि चतुर्विशतेर्भावाद्न्योन्यास्ते तिस्रो लक्षा एकत्रिश-त्सहस्राः सप्त शतानि षट्सप्ततिः। एवमेषैव संख्या विपुलाभेदेष्वपि ॥ ११८ ॥ समपाद्योस्तुर्याक्षरायगणस्थाने जगणश्चेत्तद्। वक्त्रमेव पश्यावक्त्रास्यम् । विष-मयोस्तुर्याक्षराज्जमणः समयोर्यमणः शेषं तथैव वक्त्रवयत्र तद्विपरीतादि विपरीत-पथ्यावक्त्रम् । ॥११९॥ तदेव विपरीतपथ्यावक्त्रं जगणस्थाने नगणेन चपलावक्त्रा-ख्यम् । विषमयोस्तुर्याक्षरात् नगणः समयोस्तु यगण इत्यर्थः । समयोः सप्तमो ल्घुर्यस्यां क्रियते सा विपुलावक्त्राख्या । न चेयं पथ्यया गतार्था । विपुलावक्त्रस्ये-दानीमारभ्यमाणत्वात्तां विना तस्यानुपपत्तेः समपादयोः सप्तमलघुनावर्यं भाव्यम् । विषमयोस्तु मादिभिर्यगणस्यापवादं वक्ष्यति । पथ्यायां तु यगण प्वावतिष्ठते ॥१२०॥ सैतवाचार्यमते चतुर्षु पादेषु सप्तमो लघुश्रीदिपुलावक्त्रम् ॥ १२१ ॥ ओजयोस्तुर्या-क्षरायगणं बाधित्वा मगणः ; समयोस्तु सप्तमो लघुः स्थित एव चेन्मविपुला । ओज इति जातिपक्षे द्वयोरापि पादयोर्ग्रहणम् । व्यक्तिपक्षे पुनरेकस्य प्रथमस्य तृतीयस्य वा । एवं वक्ष्यमाणविपुलास्वपि । तथा च महाकवीनां प्रयोगः ।

> सर्वातिरिक्तं लावण्यं विभ्रती चारुविभ्रमा ॥ स्रीलोकसृष्टिः सा नूनं न सामान्यस्य वेधसः ॥ १ ॥

व्यक्तिपक्षे यथाः--

गतः स कालो यत्रासीन्मुक्तानां जन्म $\times \times \times \mathbb{I}$ वर्तन्ते $\times \times \times \times$ स्तासां साम्प्रतं श्रुक्तिसंपुटाः $\mathbb{I} \times \mathbb{I}$

तथाः---

वजादिष कठोराणि मृद्ंनि कुसुमादिष ॥
छोकोत्तराणां चेतांसि कोहि निर्ज्ञातुमर्हति ॥ ३ ॥ १२२ ॥
तथैव विषमाङ्गिष्ठतुर्याक्षराज्ञगणश्चेखविषुछा । जातिपक्षे यथाः—

हशा दग्धं मनासिजं जीवयन्ति हशैव याः ॥ विरूपाक्षस्य जयिनीस्ताः स्तुवे वामलोचनाः ॥ १ ॥ व्यक्तिपक्षे यथाः—

दीनायां दीनवदनो ठदत्यां साश्रुलोचनः ॥
पुरः सखीजनस्तस्याः प्रतिबिम्बमिवाभवत ॥ २ ॥

तथाः--

अन्यदा भूषणं पुंतां शमो छज्जेव योषितः॥ पराक्रमः परिभवे वैयात्यं सुरतेष्विव ॥ ३ ॥ १२३ ॥ तथैव भश्चेद्रविपुष्ठा । जातिपक्षे यथाः--

इयं सखे चन्द्रमुखी स्मितज्योत्स्नावभासिनी ॥ इन्दीवराक्षी हृद्यं दुन्दहीति तथापि मे ॥ १॥

व्यक्तिपक्षे यथाः--

सुवर्णपुष्पां पृथिवीं चिन्वन्ति पुरुषास्रयः॥ शूरश्च कृतविद्यश्च पश्च जानाति सेवितुस्॥ २॥

तथा:---

सर्वाश्चिनिधानस्य कृतप्तस्य विनाशिनः ॥ शरीरकस्यापि कृते मूढाः पापानि कुर्वते ॥ ३ ॥ १२४ ॥ तथैव रगणश्चेत्रविपुछा तु ज्ञेया । जातिपक्षे यथाः---

वधूभिः पीनस्तनीभिस्तूलीभिः कुङ्कुमेन च ॥ कालागरुधपधुमैर्हेमन्ते जयति स्मरः ॥ १ ॥

व्याक्तपक्षे यथाः-

महाकर्वि कालिदासं वन्दे वाग्देवतां ग्रुरुम् ॥ यज्ज्ञाने विश्वमाभाति दुर्पणप्रतिबिम्बवत ॥ २ ॥

तथाः---

काभिनीभिः सुसं संगः क्रियते पण्डितरिष ॥ यदि न स्याद्।रिवीचिचञ्चलं हतजीवितम् ॥ ३॥ १२५ ॥

तथैव यत्र समणः सा सविपुळा। जातिपक्षे यथाः— क्षणविध्वंसिनि छोके का चिन्ता मरणे रणे॥ कोहि मन्दः सहसैव स्वल्पेन बहु हारयेत्॥१॥

व्यक्पिक्षे यथाः--

श्रोत्रे सति न शुणोति सति नेत्रे न पश्यति ॥ वक्त्रे सत्यपि नो वक्ति पार्थिवस्तेन पार्थिवः ॥ २ ॥

तथाः--

कौटिल्यपटवः पापा मायया बकवत्तया ॥ भुवनं बञ्चयमानाः बञ्चयन्ते स्वमेवहि ॥ ३ ॥ १२६ ॥

तथैव तमणश्चेत्तविपुळा आस्याता । जातिपक्षे यथाः---येन इता पादेन सा जातिळुब्धेन मिल्लिका ॥

अछेस्तस्य दैवादहो बदर्यपि सुदुर्छभा ॥ १ ॥

व्यक्तिपक्षे यथाः---

वन्दे कविं श्रीभारविं छोकसन्तमसच्छिद्स् ॥ दिवा दीपा इवाभान्ति यस्याग्रे कवयः परे ॥ २ ॥ छोकवत्प्रतिपत्तन्यो छोकिकोर्थः परीक्षकैः ॥ छोकन्यवहारं प्रति सदृशौ बालपण्डितौ ॥ ३ ॥ संकीर्णाश्च विपुछ।प्रकारा दृश्यन्ते । यथाः--क्विचित्कालं प्रसरता क्विचिदापत्यिनिध्नता(?)॥
शुनेव सारङ्गकुलं त्वया भिन्नं दि्षां बलम् ॥ ४॥
तुल्येपराधे स्वर्भातुर्भानुमन्तं चिरेण यत्॥
हिमांशुमाशु प्रसते तन्मृदिझः स्फुटं फलम् ॥ ५॥

इत्यादयस्तेतु स्वबुध्याभ्यूह्याः । सर्वासां च विपुछानां चतुर्थो वर्णः प्रायेण गुरुर्भवतीत्यास्रायः । १२७ ॥ वक्त्रजातिप्रकरणम् ॥

> पढमांमि अद्ववन्ना । दुइयंमि दुवालस निबज्झांति ॥ तइए सोलस चउत्थए वीस जन्थ पाए । तं पयचउरुद्धनामयं पयंपीति विसमच्छन्दं ॥ १२८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । पद्चतुरूष्वं न्यासभेदाच्चतुर्विशातिथा । स्थापनाः - पद्चतुरूष्वं न पद्चतुरूष्वंप्रकरणमुपलक्ष्यते यथा । पद्चतुरूष्वंमेव प्रतिपादमादी द्विगुरुकं ततः सर्वलष्वक्षरं यद्दा प्रतिपादमादावन्ते च द्विगुरुकं शेषसर्वलघुकं सा आपीडः । आपीड प्वायस्याङ्घेर्दितीयाङ्घिणा व्यत्यये कलिका । तृतीयेन लवली । तुर्येणामृत-धारा ॥ १२८ ॥ पद्चतुरूष्वंप्रकरणम् ॥

सजसा लहु पढमयंमि । नसजगुरुणो दुइज्जए ॥ हुंति भनजलगुरू तइए । तुरिए सजासजगुरू य उग्गया ॥ १२९ ॥ स्पष्टा । उद्गतया उद्गताप्रकरणसंग्रहो होयः । यथा । उद्गतेव तृतीयाङ्ग्यौ रनभगाश्चेत् सौरभकम् । ननससास्तु चेळ्ळितम् ॥ १२९ ॥ उद्गताप्रकरणम् ॥

आइल्ले मसजा भगागुरू अहबीए । सनजा रगुरु तहगिममे ननासो ॥
नितगजय तुरिअए । इय मुणह पचुवियमुवाद्वियपुर्व्व ॥ १३० ॥
स्पष्टम् । उपस्थितप्रचुपितेन तत्प्रकरणं स्चितम् । यथा । इद्मेव तृतीयेङ्क्षी नन-सननसाश्चेद्वर्धमानम् । इद्मेव तृतीयेङ्क्ष्षी तजराश्चेत् शुद्धविराहुषभम् । उप-स्थितप्रचुपितप्रकरणम् । पूर्वार्षे षोडश गुरवः उत्तरार्थे द्वात्रिंशल्लघवः सीम्या । पूर्वार्थे द्वात्रिंशल्लघवः उत्तरार्थे षोडश गुरवो ज्योतिः । विषमप्रकरणम् ॥ १३० ॥

इति कविदर्पणवृत्तौ चतुर्थोद्देशः।

(To be continued)

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIGURES OF SPEECH IN THE RGVEDA *

BY

ABEL BERGAIGNE

(Translated into English by A. Venkatasubbiah)

[1] This article will have only an indirect relation to the ordinary labours of the Société de Linguistique. I do not however undertake in it, as the title may lead one to imagine, a purely literary study, at finding which in our *Memoirs*, one may justly feel astonished. The facts to which I am going to draw attention concern philology, and particularly Vedic lexicography.

The rhetoric of the Vedas is in reality a bizarre one which seems to shock even to this day the most authoritative interpreters of the Rgveda. Rather than be consistent in their translations, they have, in order to avoid the strangeness of the figures, and chiefly the cacophony of the discordant metaphors, had recourse to a certain extent to all kinds of means. When the obliteration of the figures, or even the wholesale substitution of plain words for figurative ones, has seemed insufficient in their eyes, they have at no time shrunk from doing the utmost violence to the lexicography.

However, I concede readily that the two scholars who have given us recently complete translations of the Rgveda have not yielded in the same degree to the repugnance which the rhetoric in question must engender in all persons with our modern taste. In many of the cases where Grassmann has retreated before the boldness or incoherence of Vedic figures, Ludwig 1 has held his

^{*} The original article, entitled "Quelques observations sur les figures de rhetorique dans le Rgveda" was published in *Memoires de la Societe de Linguistique*, Tome IV, fascicule 2, pp. 1-42.

The translation of Ludwig is, on the whole, a very estimable work, very superior in regard to accuracy to that of Grassmann; but it will become perfectly intelligible only with the help of the commentary which is to follow it. As regards Grassmann, he has assuredly, by the publication of his dictionary, rendered signal service to Vedic philologists. But he has aggravated in his translation the defects of interpretation that are already perceptible in his former work.

ground. Still he too has been lacking in courage on more than one occasion.

[2] I have already referred to them at length. My translations have appeared so crabbed to a serious critic 2 as to force from him this singular opinion: "On the whole I avow that I would rather be in the wrong with Roth and Grassmann than understand the Veda rightly with Bergaigne." I shall be still more bold on this occasion. I shall not be content with holding my ground before the monster on all the occasions when it presents itself before me in connection with a verse; but I am going to give chase to it throughout the collection of hymns. I hope to show that this "extreme harshness of expression" on which my interpretations often border is not only tolerated, but is actually recommended, by Vedic rhetoric, that in other words, the authors of the hymns are never more satisfied with themselves than when they have put together words which "scream with fright at seeing themselves joined together."

BOLDNESS OF THE SIMILES

The boldness of Vedic similes is well-known. None of the processes of interpretation that I am going to criticise here has been able to efface totally this characteristic trait of the poetry of the rsis. Even the most obliterated translation, the interpretation that is the most intentionally colourless, that of Grassmann for instance, teems still in strange figures. A small number of examples will suffice.

Here is one whose strangeness has at least a certain poetic flavour. The horses of Indra are compared to wings that carry an eagle, VIII, 34, 9. The team of the Asvins being often composed of birds, it is, by a figure perhaps still more singular, these birds that become their wings while they themselves are compared to eagles, V, 74, 9. Why then should Grassmann who has translated these formulae pretty faithfully, obliterate the same

La Religion Vedique d'apres les hymnes du Rgveda, Vol. 1.

² Pischel, Göttingische Anzeigen, 1879, p. 170.

³ Ibid.

⁺ The Maruts on their chariot drawn by horses are also compared to eagles, VIII, 20, 10.

figure in verse VI, 47, 31 in his translation which is more in conformity with our own taste than with the text which he interprets? This text in fact, does not say merely that 'the warriors fly on their horses,' but that they take 'their horses' for 'wings.'

In the verse X, 180, 2, Indra is compared to a terrible animal. At the same time, there presents itself before the poet the image of a chariot with a sharp wheel which grinds the enemies, and the sharp wheel of the hero becomes the jaw of the animal: "Like the terrible animal dwelling in the mountain which glides slowly, thou hast come from the most distant region; [3] sharpening like a jaw, the sharp felly of the wheel, O Indra, grind the enemies, chase the malefactors."

The following comparisons are still more bizarre. The poet with his hymn turns Indra (in order to make him roll towards himself) as the carpenter turns a wheel, VII, 32, 20. The singers place their desire on Indra like a foot in a chariot (in order that it may take them to the goal), VII, 32, 2. The prayer is compared to a girth which grips Indra and Soma like two horses, VII, 104, 6. Indra is filled with chants as a stable with cows, VIII, 24, 6. We shall have to revert more than once to the assimilation of the chants with cows. The whole world knows, moreover, what an important role the cow plays in Vedic phraseology. The beneficent deity par excellence, Indra, is compared to a cow that allows herself to be milked, VIII, 82, 3; Vāl. 4, 4. The god who unites in himself the principle attributes of Providence, and who, in particular, observes the most secret faults, Varuna, protects the thoughts of men, like cows, VIII, 41, 1.

I could continue thus for a long time. The juices of Soma, when they have been ingurgitated, fight in the heart, like drunken men, VIII, 2, 12.2 When Indra soaks himself with them, the author of the hymn X, 43 compares them not only to rivers that

¹ Hen This meaning seems to me justified by the analogy of srkva, srkvan, corner of the mouth (in classical Sanskrit), and by the comparison of verse I, 32, 12, in which Hen is used a second time with the verse IV, 18, 9 in which the word

The second simile contained in this verse is very obscure.

fill a pool (verse 7), but to birds that are going to perch upon a thick tree (verse 4). The simples that heal a sick person are compared to victorious mares that break through the malady X, 97, 3.

But, more curious, sometimes, than the strangeness of the text itself are the expedients to which the interpreters have recourse in order to escape it. Indra 'carries his puissance like a hook', X, 134, 6, without doubt in order to draw to himself the branch of the celestial tree, *ibid*. Who could have expected to see Ludwig and Grassmann have recourse to a word śakti, 'lance', of which there is no trace in the Vedic texts, 'in order to end in the idea, which is moreover no less bizarre, of a god carrying his lance like a hook?

INVERSE COMPARISONS

There is more than one simile whose words occupy a place which is inverse to that which, in our eyes, appertains to them. Thus the comparison of rivers to horses that run, does not astonish us. The comparison of horses however, [4] with rivers, VI, 46, 14, appears to be very strange. It is nevertheless capable of explanation. The rivers, like the waters in general, play such a great role in Vedic phraseology.

The sound of the pressing-stone is often compared to the chant of the priest. Inversely, we read in the verse V, 36, 4, that the 'singer' raises the voice 'like the stone'.

The comparison of prayers to teams is very frequent: the prayers thus become in a way the type of teams, and a poet compares the teams of the gods to prayers: "When willst thou yoke thy team like prayers?", VI, 35, 3. The position of the particle of comparison, na, does not allow of any other interpretation. This however does not prevent Grassmann from translating, "When willst thou yoke the prayers like horses?"

The sacred speech is all powerful in the sky. It is therefore comprehensible why its power is compared to that of the gods. None but a Vedic poet however would think of saying of a god, of Indra, that he is 'powerful like the speech', VIII, 46, 14. This, however, is no reason why the translators of this verse dis-

In the verse II, 39, 7, Ludwig gives the correct interpretation.

figure an expression that is perfectly clear by interpretations that are as far removed from each other as from the text which they claim to explain. 1

In the verse I, 124, 4, we read that the Dawn 'has caused to appear like Nodhas, all that men desire'. This passage has put all the interpreters to torture; or rather, it is the name, in itself quite inoffensive, of Nodhas, that these same have tortured in order to extort from it a meaning which they suppose to be hidden in it. Let the reader however reassure himself: I shall cite here the conjectures of the three principal interpreters only. The word signifies according to Roth 2 'merchants', and according to Grassmann, 'young girl'. Ludwig, finally, sees in it two different words 3 and extracts from them a meaning that is as strange as any that can be proposed. 4 It would be very much more simple to take the word for what it is, that is to say, as the name, known from other passages, of an ancient sacrificer. The priests procure wealth to those that employ them. They can therefore be compared to the Dawn who brings to mortals the treasure of light. The poet has only reversed the comparison here,

DOUBLE COMPARISONS

[5] Sometimes also the Vedic poets, in their comparisons, kill, as we say, two birds with one stone. Two ideas, each of which is often compared with a third, are compared with each other through the medium of a metaphor which replaces the two former similes. The latter, thus, in a way, serve as premises for a conclusion which is the new comparison.

This will be made more clear by examples. Here are two which I have already mentioned together elsewhere. 5 The prayers

¹ Grassmann; "Im wahren Sinne des Wortes, kräftigen." Ludwig: "wie (meine) Rede (es vermag)." Does not Ludwig himself interpret a similar formula in the verse X, 50, 4 in the sense that Indra is 'the prayer par excellence', being thus more correct on this occasion than Grassmann?

² Siebenzig Lieder des Rgveda, übersetzt von Geldner und Kaegi, pp. 35 and 37, note 2.

³ न and ऊधर

[&]quot;Nicht wie ein Euter liesz sie (doch) Liebes sehen."

⁵ Religion Vedique, I, pp. vi and vii and note, and previous to it, Revue Critique, 1875, II, p. 373, note 3.

^{9 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

of different men are the branches of the same tree. The favours which the god distributes among men are also branches of the same trunk. Hence this third comparison which comprises the two former. "The favours of Indra ramify like prayers," VI, 44, 6. Again, the prayers are teams that bring the gods to the sacrifice or that carry the man to the goal which he pursues. But the riches that one appropriates are also teams that can be guided according to one's will. This is the origin of the formula, "I yoke the riches of men like my prayers.", VIII, 19, 33. In these two passages, Grassmann has, without any reason, abandoned the true meaning of the word vip 'prayer.' Ludwig seems to have understood both formulae; only, he has committed the mistake of obliterating the metaphor in the second and has thus made it difficult to comprehend the comparison.

Here is another example of the same type. The diffusion of light is often compared to the effusion of a liquid. The composition of the hymn is assimilated to the clarification of the sacred beverage. The two comparisons are combined into one in the following formula which seems at first sight to be devoid of meaning: "Agni, whose flames are clarified like sounds," X, 3, 5. I refer to the translation of Ludwig, and especially to that of Grassmann, the reader who is curious to learn to how many improbable hypotheses about the meanings of words that are most clear, the strangeness of various figures of speech can lead the most competent interpreters.

A double comparison seems likewise to be implied by the bizarre metaphor which makes butter the tongue of the gods, IV, 58, 1. The tongue of the gods is, ordinarily, Agni as [6] it is by means of the sacrificial fire that the gods consume the offering. Now the butter can be compared to the fire in so far as all the offerings have to be preceded and followed by an offering of butter which seems therefore to envelope the principal offering and thus becomes a new intermediary between this offering and the deity for whom it is destined.

¹ Grassmann translates correctly without giving any explanation. Ludwig seems, as if he would avoid, by means of a forced construction, the application of this formula to the butter.

BOLDNESS OF METAPHORS

We have pointed out the boldness of the Vedic similes. When these become implicit and are reduced to mere metaphors, the strangeness can more easily conduce to obscurity. The rays of the sun are compared to horses. It is necessary to have this idea present in the mind in order to comprehend the formula: "The rays of the sun draw him," I, 50, 1. The Maruts, when shaking the sky, make brilliant figs fall down from it, V, 54, 12. This is because the sky is sometimes conceived as a tree, whose fruits are the celestial treasures, rain or light.

It is said of the dead burnt on the funeral pyre that they are 'cooked'. Again, the sun is a strainer with brilliant filaments who filters the light as the sacrificial strainer the Soma juice. The reader to whom these ideas are unfamiliar can hardly understand that in the verse IX, 83, 12, the 'cooked ones' that alone can reach 'the strainer with brilliant filaments' at which the 'raw ones' do not arrive, represent the dead going to inhabit the sun.

To pardon sins, is in the Vedic language as in ours, to 'deliver' one from them. But the rsis do not content themselves with this metaphor. They compare the sinner to a calf or a cow that is 'tied', IV, 12, 6. It is this which explains the following prayer: "Release us, O Agni, from the stable of the gods and from that of the mortals," IV, 12, 5. The allusion seems to have escaped Grassmann and Ludwig who arbitrarily assign to the word stable,' the meaning of 'prison'.

It is certainly a gracious figure that makes of the lightning a smile of the sky. It is again necessary to know that this figure is familiar to the Vedic poets in order to understand the comparison of Agni, the celestial fire, to the sky 'smiling across the

¹ Religion Vedique, I, pp. 79 and 80.

² Ibid., p. 201.

See, regarding other, most curious, uses of this word, pp. 11 and 18. It is no longer necessary to change its meaning in the verses III, 1, 14: IV, 50, 2 (where however Ludwig retains the meaning of stable abandoned by Grassmann), nor in the verse II, 13, 7, nor in VII, 76, 5, where the fathers are represented as 'united with the Dawns in their stable.'

cloud,' II, 4, 6, [7] and specially the allusion' contained in this formula: "Agni, who makes the smile of all sacrifices," IV, 7, 3. The 'smile' of the sacrifice is the lightning itself in the verse VIII, 78, 6, the sacrifice in question being the celestial sacrifice: "When thou art born, O Indra, then are born the sacrifice, the hymn and the smile."

Indra, when he becomes intoxicated with the sacred beverage in the company of Visnu, receives with this god, the, to our eyes, very irreverent appellation of 'jug of Soma', VI, 69, 2 and 6. An allusion to the same figure seems to be contained in this formula which is still more bold: "To milk the Soma into the stomach of Indra", IX, 72, 2. Here Grassmann translates correctly and it is Ludwig who weakens the figure by substituting the natural expression 'to cause to run' for the figurative expression 'to milk'.

We have already seen that the sound of the pressing stones is considered to be like a prayer. Hence the stones that speak, V, 31, 12. The hymn X, 94, dedicated to the pressing-stones, begins thus: "May they speak, may we also speak. Speak to the stones that speak'. By adding to this figure a metonymy, that is, by understanding the stone as the sound which it makes, we arrive at the bizarre formula of the verses X, 64, 15 and X, 100, 8: "The stone has said'.'.

The assimilation of the prayer to an offering 'is the key to the understanding of expressions like 'pouring out the hymn', VIII, 52, 4. It is the more astonishing that this formula should have brought Grassmann⁵ to a standstill since this scholar correctly translates the verse VIII, 39, 3: "O Agni, I throw these prayers, like butter, into thy mouth", and the verse II, 27, 1: "I pour out with the spoon in honour of the Adityas these chants dripping with butter".6

¹ It has escaped Grassmann.

² And passim. See Religion Vedique, I, p. 281.

³ Grassmann acquits himself of the affair, as he frequently does, by substituting for the figurative expression the word 'resounds.' Ludwig has recourse to a construction which seems to be very forced.

⁴ Religion Vedique, I, p. 283.

⁵ He translates 'Sangers Ruf'.

⁶ Cf. I, 61, 5.

The Vedic poets are not content with comparing the recitation of the hymns to the throwing of the offering in the fire; they compare the composition with the preparation of the Soma offering. As the prayer, moreover, procures all riches, it can be said of Agni, the poet par excellence, that he 'clarifies a very nourishing hymn', VII, 9, 2. Ludwig and Grassmann escape very cheaply from the difficulty presented by this passage [8] by giving to the substantive a meaning which it does not have in the Vedic hymns, and to the verb, a meaning that exists in mere fancy.

It is said further of the same Agni that he has clarified the hymn⁴ through three strainers, III, 26, 8. When this god is conceived, not as the author, but merely as the inspirer of the prayer, the poets become the strainers through which he clarifies his thought,⁵ III, 1, 5. The prayers⁶ themselves distil a sweet liquour when passing through the poets as through strainers, III, 31, 16. It is also said that the sages clarify speech through an extended strainer through which pass thousands of drops, IX, 73, 7. To

¹ Religion Vedique, I, p. 283.

^{2 37 &#}x27;sun'; see Religion Vedique, I, p. 279 and note.

³ पुनान: Grassmann, 'flammend aufthat'; Ludwig: 'rein darstellend.'

⁴ Again 34 which Ludwig continues to translate as 'sun.' He will explain later on the 'three purifications of the sun.' Grassmann disposes of the matter at once by giving to the word [13] 'strainer,' the meaning of 'entflammen' (sic).

⁵ Ludwig's translation, 'heillig darstellend seine geistige Kraft durch die Reinigungsmittel der güttlichen Weisen' is not very clear. Grassmann has not hesitated to make a mere adjective of Alali; Ludwig too does so, moreover, in the verses III, 31, 16. See the next note.

⁶ Denoted by the word again: which occurs again only once, in IX, 93, 1 and as an epithet of the prayers. Hea: is a partitive genitive used here with general; as it frequently is with the verb pā 'to drink'. It is the prayers which cause the waters to move (hinvanti can have only a transitive meaning). Grassmann and Ludwig have not troubled themselves about making the translation of this passage accord with that of the preceding one.

learn the verses which celebrate Soma Pavamāna¹ is to learn 'the juice prepared by the rsis', IX, 67, 31. Finally, the tongue distils the sweet liquour of the sacrifice, IX, 75, 2, and at its extremity is a strainer, IX, 73, 9. We shall meet below² with this last idea in combination with a different figure.

"To weave the work of the singers", X, 53,6, is another metaphor which recalls by way of allusion the comparison of the prayer with a textile, with a garment, which the singers weave for the gods.

The prayer is also conceived as a weapon, whence the metaphor, to 'whet the prayer', VIII, 42, 3. The weapon of the prayer is employed by the gods themselves. If this idea had been present in their minds, Grassmann and Ludwig, would have, in spite of the example of Roth, understood that there is no occasion to abandon' [9] the meaning of prayer, which is the only justifiable's meaning, in order to explain the formula: "Trita struck the boar with a prayer which had a point of iron", X, 99, 6. The prayer with the iron point recalls moreover the hymns' which 'glow like the fire' X, 68, 6.

It is said to Indra: "Do not stay in the evening away from us like a bad son-in-law", VIII, 2, 20. This is a comparison which is not more unusual than many others. One does not, however, understand it fully, if one fails to see in it an allusion to the

¹ And not the prayers 'that clarify themselves 'as I have said elsewhere (Religion Vedique, I, p. 283) through a lapsus, confusing the derivative पावमानी with the present participle of the verb pu.

s Or, more correctly, 'of the law.' I do not believe that the genitive should be construed with should be construed with

³ Pp. 26-27.

⁴ Grassmann: 'Pfeil.' Ludwig: 'Schleuder'.

⁵ See above, p. 5, note 1.

⁴ Again 37 Grassmann: 'Glute, 'Ludwig: 'Blitz.' See p. 8, notes 1 and 3.

idea that the prayer is the spouse, the young wife, *ibid.* 19, of the god. In this way is also explained the presence in a hymn addressed to Indra, of a formula like that of the verse V, 37, 3: "This woman goes searching for a husband that will espouse her". In the same way also when the Vedic poets show us Agni VII, 10, 1, or Soma, VI, 47, 3, awakening the prayer which readily awakes, it requires on the part of the reader some familiarity with the conceptions which are peculiar to them to see there an allusion to the spouse or the lover (female) awakened by the husband or the lover.

The prayer is, again, a chariot that brings the gods to the sacrifice. The Vedic rsis therefore carpenter prayers, VI, 32, 1.3 The poet, fearing that other sacrificers may compete with him and invoke the god at the same time as he, addresses himself in these words to Indra: "Let our hymn be the one that conveys thee the best, 'VI, 45, 30. From this translation to that of Ludwig and from Ludwig's to Grassmann's, there can be observed a gradual effacement of the figure. Ludwig says, "Let this be the one that draws thee the best," and Grassmann: "Let this be the one that charms thee the most." We may also cite in this connection the formula: "Let us make for Indra a pleasing chariot, "III, 53, 3. Grassmann gives to the word वाइस directly the meaning 'praise': in doing so, he is only following the Nirukta. The hymn of praise may be thus named because it brings the god: but there is here one of the numerous cases where the question of rhetoric is wrongly treated as a question of lexicography. The word वाहस denotes 'chariot' and suggests the idea of 'prayer.'5

^{1 &}quot;Come towards us like the great man who has married a young wife," that is to say, like a powerful or rich son-in-law. The second pada seems to be a sort of parenthesis. Ludwig, it seems to me, has totally misunderstood the meaning of this passage.

² Compare, regarding <u>उराती</u>, X, 63, 1, and regarding अजीगर् I, 134, 3. The allusion has, without doubt, escaped the two translators.

³ And passim.

[•] Cf. the use of the word वाहस in the compounds स्तोमवाहस, त्रहावाहस, कार्त सिन्धुवाहस and likewise the parallel use of the adjective वाहिष्ठ, applied sometimes to the hymn, as above VI, 45, 30, sometimes to the rivers, VIII, 26, 18, and sometimes to the chariot, VII, 37, 1.

⁵ Ludwig substitutes, without any apparent reason, another metaphor, 'Hebe'.

[10] The assimilation of prayers to horses belongs to the same category of ideas. Of Agni the inspirer of hymns, it is said that he helps 'in yoking the prayers,' I, 18, 7. Sometimes it is the god invoked who himself yokes the prayers, that is, who takes them for his team: "The men invoke Indra that he may yoke the prayers which he rescues, "VII, 27, 1. Ludwig and Grassmann obliterate this metaphor in their translations. Both have totally mistranslated verse 13 of the hymn VIII, 5, addressed to the Asvins, where the same idea is expressed as, 'yoke the prayer of men and come quick.' And yet, the verb used, ni yavistam, is precisely the one whose formation corresponds to that of the substantive nigut. Now this word is so often used to denote the prayers that Grassmann, substituting, as he frequently does, the suggested idea to the idea expressed, assigns directly to it the meaning 'prayer' in his lexicon, although in reality it has the meaning of 'team' only. The numerous uses of the same word in a metaphorical sense can, for the rest, furnish us with a whole series of allusions in addition to those that have just been mentioned. I shall content myself with citing one of them. We have seen Indra compared to a wheel that rolls towards the sacrificer. The author of the verse IV, 31, 4 reproduces this comparison, adding however that it is the teams of men that make him roll. These teams are evidently the prayers. Here the true meaning has escaped Ludwig; it has been grasped by Grassmann who however commits the mistake of substituting the idea of 'prayers' for 'teams'.

The figure that is perhaps the most used and whose applications are the most diverse in the Rgveda is that of the 'cow'. It denotes in particular the prayers, and the metaphor is so well-known that a poet alludes to it in the following manner: "I have brought thee these hymns of praise like a cowherd', I, 14, 93. Elsewhere, through a peculiarity similar to that which I have denoted by the name of 'Inverse Comparison,' it is the upameya which occurs in the simile: "I have somehow brought thee the cows; accept them, O night, daughter of the sky, like the praise

¹ Ludwig and Grassmann have effaced the metaphor.

² Religion Vedique, I, p. 309.

⁵ Cf. VI, 49, 12 below, p. 19.

which is addressed to the conqueror," X, 127, 8. The translation which Ludwig gives of this verse is not very intelligible. Grassmann gets rid of the bizarrerie by giving to the words their natural order; but in doing so, he has been obliged to reverse that in which it has pleased the poet to present them to us.

Indra's appellation as the 'bull of the prayers, 'VI, 17, 2, is to be explained in the same way. Similarly, it is possible that an allusion of the same kind [11] is contained in the invitation which is addressed to Indra in VIII, 88, 1 to 'approach the stable.' For the idea of 'stable,' Ludwig substitutes the vague one of 'habitation.' Grassmann translates 'drinks,' and in fact it is possible that by the word 'stable' the poet alludes to the offerings, which, like the prayers, are also represented as cows; but he should have, in any case, preserved the metaphor.

The substitution of 'milk' for 'cow' in representing the prayer leads naturally to the substitution of the idea of cow for that of 'cowherd' in representing the poet. It is thus that the author of the verse I, 186, 4 is able to compare himself to a 'cow', 2 a good milker, when he composes his 'hymn'. Here it is the text which Grassmann has disturbed; he substitutes a dual for the singular in order to connect the qualification 'cow' with the 'Night' and the 'Dawn' to whom the verse is addressed.

Finally, one should bear well in mind that the cow is the type of all the gifts that man expects from the gods in order to understand this strange comparison: "Our desire is opened like a stable; it, O Indra, thou that art the lord of riches', III, 30, 19.

INCOHERENT COMBINATIONS OF FIGURATIVE AND UNFIGURATIVE WORDS

The obscurity of metaphors is lessened, when, by the side of the figurative word, there occurs, as is the case in a great number

Ludwig gets rid of this combination in a very artificial manner by understanding an idea which nothing suggests, 'Der Stier, (der Gegenstand) der Lieder.' Grassmann translates more faithfully; but there is inothing to indicate that he has understood the allusion.

² Cf. I, 187, 11.

³ Ludwig translates correctly. Grassmann substitutes another metaphor 'Meeresbecken' for that of the text, Cf. p. 6, note 3.

^{10 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

of the examples already cited, an unfigurative word which determines its application. But, in return, the bizarrerie is enhanced when this unfigurative word expresses a detail which is strange in connection with the idea represented by the figure, or even irreconcilable with it.

To kindle Agni is to awaken him: the metaphor is natural. It is less natural when Agni is 'awakened' with 'a billet of wood,' V, 1, 1. The fire devours: nothing more simple. But what formula is so bizarre as the following where it is a simile which suggests the metaphor while the principal sentence contains only the unfigurative word: "Thou burnest the wood, O agni, like cattle in the pasturage," V, 9, 4? Agni's flame is a tongue. This tongue digests the offering. It is more strange that it breaks the stones, VIII, 61, 4. Similarly, one can understand the flames being called [12] spoons when they present the offering to the gods. But this figure is used in sentences where it cannot be explained, in VI, 66, 10, where the Maruts, impetuous like flames, are compared to the spoons of Agni.

The priest who has drunk the Soma juice and whose body has thus become the abode of a god, calls himself an 'ornate mansion.' This does not prevent him from representing himself at the same time as 'going and carrying the offering to the gods,' X, 119, 13.3 This figure has displeased Grassmann and Ludwig and they have sacrificed to their offended taste, one the lexicography, and the other, the grammar. The former gives to a word which denotes 'house' the meaning of 'servant'; the latter translates a nominative as an accusative and another nominative as the genitive of a word whose accent does not permit it to be confounded with the word actually used.

¹ Cf. VI. 2. 9.

² সূহু Ludwig and Grassmann change the meaning of the word and say 'the tongues of Agui'; see below, p. 14, note 2.

³ Religion Vedique, I, p. 151.

⁴ JE Does Ludwig believe, like Kaegi, Siebenzig Lieder, p. 83, note 4 that this form stands for JE ? In my view, the one is equivalent to the other.

⁵ अरंकतो and not अरंकती.

Soma himself is a combatant: he fights the demons. But, as it is the arms of the priests which make the Soma juice run when pressing it with stones, Soma is 'a combatant who is made to move with the arms' 1 V. 58, 4. In the verse IX, 96, 19, Soma is called at the same time a 'drop' that carries weapons and wins cows and an 'eagle' staying in the 'vat'. In another passage, X, 101, 10, where the epithet 'bay' and specially the figure of the ten straps (the ten fingers) which grip imply the assimilation of Soma to a horse, the poet says, without troubling himself about the incoherence 2 of his language, 'Throw the bay into the vat,' and he adds, alluding to the sacrifice of the horse, 'fashion him with knives;' but these knives are 'made of stones,' because they are the pressing-stones. Again, it is Soma who is called in the verse V. 50. 4, the 'animal of the vat'. This combination of words has appeared too dry to Grassmann who replaces 'vat' by 'manger.'

When representing Soma as a bull, the poet has felt no scruple about making him liquid and has thus made a 'drop bull' of him, VI, 41, 3. Then, with the addition to the metaphor of a metonymy, it is said that the plant (for the Soma juice, that is extracted from it) [13] lows, IX, 74, 5. This formula becomes, in the translation of (frassmann, 'the juice bubbles'.

Soma on the one hand is a calf; on the other, he comes out of a plant. He is therefore a calf whom Parjanya, his father, makes a 'foetus of the plants', III, 101, 1. Ludwig translates correctly this formula, the figure in which is obliterated by Grassmann.

To press out any juice is, in Vedic phraseology, to milk it out. Therefore the Soma is said to be milked; but he is 'milked' with 'stones', the pressing stones, I, 54, 9; VIII, 38, 3; IX, 80, 5. Here it is Grassmann who has preserved the figure while Ludwig has effaced it.

The Soma in the sky is identified with the sun. He is therefore represented as 'looking down below', but the poet continues and calls him a 'liquor', IX, 38, 5.

[।] बाहुजूत This epithet which is related to बाहुज्युत and आदिज्त, does not permit of any doubt that it is Soma who is spoken of in this verse. Grassmann and Ludwig, without troubling themselves with these analogies, translate here, the former, 'armgewandt' and the latter, 'armkrāftig.'

² Regarding the incoherence of the figures, see the whole hymn and especially verses 2, 7, and 11.

On the other hand, the liquor which gives to Indra the strength that he requires for accomplishing his divine exploits can pass for the bolt of Indra. This is the 'intoxicating bolt' which has been given to him by Kāvya Uśana, and which the new priest again forges for him, I, 121, 12. Grassmann translates 'the joyful lightning' and Ludwig 'the bolt which is pleasing to him'. Neither the one nor the other seems to have comprehended that the bolt given to a god by a priest can only be a liturgical weapon.

But we have better than the 'intoxicating' bolt. It is the hammer explicitly called 'hammer of the pressed liquour', that Indra 'causes to flow into his stomach', X, 116, 4. We find again here the confusion of the idea of 'weapon' and that of 'drink'. Nothing however of all this in the translations of Grassmann and Ludwig.¹

Elsewhere, it is Indra himself who 'causes to flow' on the demon, by means of 'stones', a 'bolt' representing Soma, V. 48, 3. Grassmann translates correctly this passage; it is Ludwig who has effaced the figure.

Soma is also the prop of the sky. It would seem that the first quality required in a prop should be solidity. The author of the verse IX, 86, 46, says nevertheless: "It has spread, the liquour that is the prop of the sky".

It is Soma that attracts Indra, that makes him come down upon the altar. It can therefore be said that he yokes his horses. Everything goes well so long as Soma is represented with a human form. But, when the poet places him in the cup, or even substitutes by metonymy for the liquour the 'cup' which 'yokes the horses' hāriyojana, I, 82, 4 the combination of ideas becomes very [14] strange. Nevertheless it would be better to admit this than to essay the forced constructions to which Grassmann and Ludwig have recourse. The error of the latter is the more peculiar inasmuch as in a very analogous formula where it is merely the priests instead of the cup that yoke the horses of Indra, I, 61, 16, he does not hesitate, in order to bring out the meaning of the same word, हारियोजन to make in the text a correction² which looks very

¹ The meaning of the root vrs in the middle with the perfix a, has not appeared sufficiently established to them to discourage them from searching for another.

² By rejecting firstly the reading of the Pada-patha, and then changing the accentuation of the Samhita.

seductive in my eyes, but which condemns his former interpretation.

These however are but some out of the thousands of examples of bizarrerie that are furnished by the formulae relating to Soma. Book IX of the Rgveda, consisting solely of hymns addressed to Soma Pavamāna is wholly in this style.

I have already referred above to the assimilation of the prayer to the offering. When the offering is a prayer, the spoon is naturally the tongue of the poet. It is in this sense that the formula, "I eloquently invoke Agni with the spoon", II, 10, 6, should be understood. But interpreting is one thing, and translating, another; and Grassmann in his dictionary, 1 and Ludwig in his translation, are wrong in substituting the idea of 'tongue' for that of 'spoon'.

In the hymn IV, 56 concerning the sacrificial butter, the drops of butter placed 'in the heart', 11, purified 'with the heart,' 6, coming out from 'the ocean of the heart,' 5, can be only the prayers. But it must in any case be admitted that the metaphor is harsh. The 'ocean of the heart 'is not found either in Ludwig or in Grassmann. The former substitutes for it 'the inmost vessel 'which has not much meaning. The latter is clear, but at what a price! The ocean becomes a 'pleasing' ocean, that of the atmosphere. Neither the one nor the other has taken any pains to make his translation of verse 5 accord with that of 6 and 11.

Conversely, the flowing of the deified waters is assimilated to a chant: "Sing us," they are addressed, "milk out of fat, sweet milk," X, 64, 9. Grassmann replaces here the idea of 'singing' with that of 'sending'.

The sacred speech is the first of all things. In particular, it is the mother of the different couples of gods, X, 125, 1. The author of the verse III, 39, 3 (cf. 1 and 2), while calling it 'the mother of twins,' has not hesitated to add that it is placed [15]

In his translation, he is far off from the true meaning. The article in the dictionary on the imaginary word strongue' contains however a just observation on the confusion of the idea of spoon and that of 'tongue' applied to the flames of Agni. See above, p. 12, note 1.

² On the meaning of the verb rc, see Religion Vedique, I, p. 277.

on the mobile extremity of the tongue.' Nothing of this however is found either in Grassmann or Ludwig.'

The invocation to Agni: "Give attention to every one that has a good chariot," III, 14, 7, evidently needs explanation. To say like Ludwig "Be the ally of every one that has a good warchariot" is to content oneself too easily, and not to interpret it. The possession of a good war chariot is not, obviously, a special title to the favour of the gods. The chariot in question is the prayer that brings the gods to the sacrifice. I could have already cited this passage above; but the imperative bodhi 'pay attention' would very naturally require the complement to our prayer,' so that I thought that I should include the combination 'pay attention to him who has a good chariot' among those which present an incoherence between the figurative and unfigurative words.

There are however, belonging to the same category, many combinations that are strange. Ludwig has not shrunk from 'the eloquent chariot,' I, 112, 2, which has scared away Grassmann. The 'eloquent ship,' II, 16, 7, has, I do not know why, scared away not only Grassmann 'but Ludwig also. The 'ship of prayers' is, nevertheless, a known figure, I, 46, 7.

equally maltreated in the translation of Ludwig: Der Zunge Spitze senkte sich und hob sich". Grassmann's only mistake is in giving to the two different propositions two different subjects both of which are drawn from his imagination. It is the same element of Vedic liturgy and mythology that is spoken of in verse 6 of the hymn VI, 59 addressed to a pair of deities, to Indra and Agni: "She who is without feet advances before those who have feet; she comes out from the head; with the tongue, she speaks, she walks, etc." Here the accent of alaca may be explained as due to a sort of subordination of this verb to those that follow. The unexpected translations that Grassmann and Ludwig give of this new formula are as far removed from each other as each of them is from mine.

² Ludwig is however obliged to understand the word 'ally 'with bodhi, taken as the imperative of bhū. This form is here, as understood by Grassmann, the imperative of budh.

³ Or the sacrifice in general. It is thus that Grassmann, in his dictionary, seems to understand this passage. His translation, without explanation, is correct.

Only at the time of translation. In his dictionary, he gives the correct meaning.

The prayers are also horses. It is also said therefore that they 'caracole,' and that they caracole when coming out from 'the heart,' III, 39, 1.

We have seen the gods take for their team? the prayers of [16] men. But these teams of prayers go to meet them. The poet 'sends' to the gods a 'desire' well 'yoked', IV, 23, 5°. All 'the teams pursue' the Aśvins, VII, 72, 1.4 The figurative and the unfigurative words are used together in this passage of a hymn to Indra: "Like water that follows its slope, the chants, the prayers, the teams, run towards thee," VI, 47, 14. Horses that themselves go seeking him whom they have to carry are, in the first place, rare horses. What can we say of those that call him? It has been seen above that Agni helps in yoking the prayers. Elsewhere, he is prayed to himself yoke, like a driver, 'the horses which best call? the gods', VIII, 64, 1.

¹ I, 142, 4; VI, 22, 5; X, 148, 5. This is the correct meaning of the root vaño. It explains particularly well the passages where this root is used to denote the flowing of the Soma who is so often compared to a horse. In his interpretations of the word and Ludwig is not consistent. See VI, 22, 5 and I, 144, 6.

² Cf. X, 47, 7. Grassmann is wrong in referring the form वृष्यमान to the root vac 'to speak'.

³ Here it is Grassmann who translates correctly. It is however possible that the verb signifies 'to weave' as understood by Ludwig. We would then have a combination of two incoherent metaphors. But Ludwig's translation: "festverbundene Liebe" seems to us to be pure fantasy.

⁴ Ludwig translates 'follow' in spite of the prefix अभि. Here it is Grassmann who seems to me to have understood the correct meaning.

⁵ Cf. VIII, 85, 10: "Send to Indra the hymn, the *troops*, the chants" and I, 145, 3: "Towards him (Agni) go the spoons, the mares." In the second passage which takes us back to the figure of teams, the mares are the prayers rather than the beverages as believed by Grassmann. As for Ludwig's translation, 'die Trefflichen,' it is as arbitrary as it is devoid of sense.

⁶ Ludwig, contrary to his habit, adds to the translation of the word 1937 an explanation in parenthesis. But this explanation, 'Auftrage,' is inadmissible.

⁷ This figure has quite disappeared in Grassmann's translation.

Indra mounts his chariot 'at the call' of his bay horses, 'III, 45, 2. Ludwig, it is true, interprets this call as a simple neighing; and, in fact, the two bay horses do constitute the celestial team of Indra. Still it is the more easy to admit here a confusion between this team and the liturgical team of prayers inasmuch as we read in the verse III, 50, 2: "I yoke for thee the two pious horses whose piety thou hast rewarded long ago."

In the hymn II, 18, the horses that call Indra are in number successively 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 (verse 4), 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70 (verse 5), 80, 90, 100 (verse 6). Grassmann and Ludwig translate 'called with 2, 4, etc., horses.' 2 They have not comprehended that all these horses, or rather, all these pairs of horses, are liturgical teams. And yet the chariot of verse 1 can represent only the sacrifice. It is said in verse 3 that the two bay horses of Indra are yoked by the prayer. Finally, verse 7 says quite categorically, "Come, O Indra, in the direction of my [17] prayers; yoke them all3 like the two bay horses to the yoke of the chariot." And why this ever increasing number of horses? The sequel of the same verse explains it to us: "For, thou mayest be invoked in many different places. " The multiplication of the number of horses is like a higher bid by means of which the poet hopes to induce the god to resolve to listen to him in preference to other sacrificers.

But we have not yet arrived at the last limits of the bizarrerie. The horses that draw the gods, the chariot wheels that are turned for them, are well-known equivalents of the prayers, so that, instead of saying, as in the verse VI, 48, 16, 'to speak' to the ear of the god, the poet says, 'May the horses, O Indra and Kutsa, draw you at the ear' V, 31, 9 or 'The priests, while invoking the ram (Indra), draw a chariot—wheel at his ear,' VIII, 86, 12.

¹ Grassmann's translation is totally different. But the meaning which he gives to अभिस्त्रे 'behind,' is only a conjecture and is as venturesome as futile.

² Note the parallelism of ह्यमान: and उद्यामन: in verses 4 and 6.

³ It is not possible to connect विश्व and हरी as Grassmann and Ludwig have done.

⁴ Grassmann and Ludwig seek naturally another meaning for आप कार्य, 4 nah sur Stelle. ' auf Hörweite'.

It will be observed, in connection with the assimilation of the prayers with horses that the priests also are horses that draw the sacrificial chariot. There are therefore horses that chant beautiful hymns, VII, 38, 7. The priests that are spoken of in this passage are however divine priests; and Grassmann and Ludwig remove the bizarrerie from the expression, the first by giving to the word अर्थ 'hymn' the meaning of 'splendour,' the second by omitting to translate the word वाजन 'horse.'

We have also seven 'horses' that 'speak' and that 'say' the truth only, that have only 'thoughts' conforming to the law; III, 4, 7. They are the seven mythical priests. The verse VII, 90, 5 also speaks of beings that 'draw' (a chariot) 'yoked' by their own will; and that have only 'thoughts' conforming to the truth.

Inversely, but chiefly by virtue of the same assimilation of the priests to horses, there are 'priests' that 'caracole," III, 6 1. They are the 'horses with seven tongues 'recalling the seven priests and the seven prayers, ibid; 2.

But let us turn back to the prayers. We know that they are also often compared to cows. Hence the 'cows' that approach; 'praying' to the lord of the cows, IX, 97; 34. The [18] formula that follows immediately in the same verse presents to us the same figure reversed: "The prayers go forward bellowing towards Soma." The two explain each other. We may also cite the verse X; 104; 10: "The cow invokes him who is much invoked." The author of the verse V, 18, 4 does not shrink from alluding to the assimilation of the prayers with cows even when placing the prayers in the mouth of the poets or singers: "The singers who guard the hymns in their mouth."

The Maruts when making the rain fall are said to 'milk' the inexhaustible spring,' VIII, 7, 16. This is because, in reality, like the prayers, and according to all seeming even before them, the celestial waters are cows.

¹ See Religion Vedique, I, p. 279 and note.

² Ludwig does not admit the meaning 'horse' given by Roth and Grassmann to the word Tal. This meaning however seems to me to be probable. In any case, the assimilation of the priests with horses is established by a good number of passages.

³ This figure seems to have completely escaped Ludwig.

⁴ See above, p. 15, note 5.

^{11 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

The waters would be in place in a river and the cows in a stable; but the Vedic poets do not trouble themselves about analogy in the use which they make of sacred figures. Thus we meet in the verse IV, 19, 6 a 'river' containing all the 'cows.' From the river full of cows, by transferring the figure from the contained to the container, one arrives easily at this formula: "The rain coming from the troop," X, 23, 4. One thinks oneself dreaming when one reads the 'translation' that Grassmann gives of this expression. "The hero and all his troop (sic)."

The confusion between cows and celestial rivers also explains perfectly the formula: "The rivers fill the same stable," II, 35, 3, without any necessity of changing, as do Grassmann and Ludwig, the meaning of 'stable' into that of 'reservoir'.

The cow is also a commonplace symbol of the liberality of the god, and when the suppliant desires horses or even cows, it is this symbolical cow that he has to 'milk' in order to extract from it the 'cow' and the 'horse,' VIII, 14, 3.

JUXTAPOSITION OF DISPARATE SIMILES

Just as I said some words on the boldness of similes before speaking of the bizarrerie of the metaphors, I believe that I should, before speaking of the incoherent combinations of diverse metaphors, give some examples of the diversity of the similes employed concerning the same object and their juxtaposition in the same formula. Here is one that is very curious: "Like the cows towards the village; like the combatant towards his horses; like the cow towards her calf, good and allowing herself to be sucked, like a husband towards his [19] wife, may he come towards us, he who sustains the sky; Savitr who gives all riches," X, 149, 4.

The litanies to Indra are similar to those to Savitr: "Call here thy friend like a cow that one is going to milk; sawaken, O singer, the lover Indra; like a vessel full of riches up to the brim, bring here the hero that he may make us presents," X, 42, 2.

¹ Concerning the word and see below, p. 31, note 1,

² जर्ब See above, p. 6, note 3.

³ This interpretation, which in any case, thrusts itself, so to say, upon one would be facilitated by the emendation देहि न proposed by Roth.

To the well-known figure which makes the prayer a cow, may be added that which makes it a garment, a parure of the god, in the following passage: "Lead them to the hero as a cowherd leads his herd to the stable; may he clothe himself with the prayers of the priests as of the starry sky, "VI, 49, 12. In the verse V, 29, 15, the poet compares the prayers which he addresses to Indra to garments and to a chariot In another passage, I, 186. 7, the prayers have at the same time three different representations: "Our prayers, which serve him as horses, lick him as cows lick their new-born calf. Our chants caress, as wives the most lovable hero." The three figures likewise combined in the verse X, 101, 2 are those of the garment which adorns, the boat which sails and the weapon which brings victory over the enemies: all the three denote alike the prayer: "Perform the pleasant works; stretch (the warp of) the prayers (in order to weave them); make the boat which transports with the aid of oars; make ready your weapons, prepare everythin; lead, make the sacrifice come forward, friends." The application of these metaphors, or at least of the last one, seems to have escaped Grassmann and Ludwig; for they substitute for the idea of 'weapons' that of 'utensils'.1

When the prayer is considered as a chariot that brings the god, the poet can say that he makes a 'hymn' like a 'carpenter's. But the author of the verse III, 38, 1 does not stop here: he compares himself in addition to a horse yoked to the yoke.

The hymns to Soma of Book IX furnish us in abundance with a series of incongruous comparisons. We content ourselves with citing the verse IX, 82, 1. Soma is here called a horse that is 'pressed'; he is compared to a king when he neighs or bellows (just as one likes) after the cows and to an eagle when he passes through the strainer and stops in the vat.

[To be continued]

¹ It is necessary however to cite the whole hymn. It is full of mystical incoherences.

² The allusion seems however to have escaped Ludwig who gives to मनीष्। the meaning of 'Gedanke' and explains it in parenthesis by 'Plan.'

MISCELLANEA

METHODS ADOPTED BY JAINA WRITERS FOR RECORDING THEIR OWN NAMES AND THOSE OF THEIR GURUS IN THE WORKS COMPOSED BY THEM

BY

Prof. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

Works can be classified in a number of ways. One of them is to divide them into two groups: (1) onymous and (2) anonymous. As regards the first group there are two alternatives, one wherein the author has himself mentioned his name and the other wherein the author's name is supplied later on by some one else. In the former case, it may be that the name is expressly mentioned by the author himself or that it may have been indirectly suggested by him. I intend to deal with, in this note mostly with the latter case. I shall begin with a Prākrit work viz. Visehacuṇṇi of Nisihasutta composed by Jiṇadāsa Gani Mahattara. There he has said in the end:—

"ति-चउ-पण-अट्टमवरगः ति-पण-ति-तिगअक्खरा व ते तेसिं।
पढम-तिएहिं ति-दुसरजुएहिं णामं कयं जस्स ॥
गुरुदिण्णं च गणित्तं, महत्तरत्तं च तस्स तुट्टेहिं॥
तेण कएसा चुण्णी, विसेसनामा णिसीहस्स ॥"

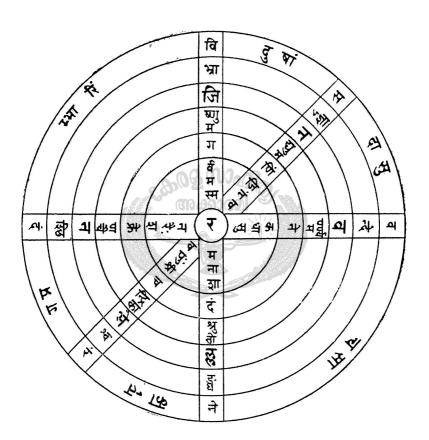
The first of these verses gives us the name Jinadāsa. For, अ, क, च, ट, त, प, य and श are the eight vargas. The 3rd, 5th, 3rd and 3rd letters of the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 8th vargas are respectively ज, ज, ब, and स. Out of them the first ज and the third द respectively combined with इ and आ, the 3rd and the 2nd letters of the first varga give us the name Jinadāsa.

Upadeśamālā known as Puṣpamālā, too, furnishes us with a similar example. The verse in question is as under:—

" हेममाणिचंददप्पणसुरिरिसीपढमवस्ननामेहिं। सिरिअभयसुरिसीसेहिं विरइयं पगरणं इणमो॥ ५०१॥ "

¹ For some of the remarks regarding this work, see Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XVI, pts. III-IV; pp. 299-300.

चऋबन्धः



By combining the first letter of each of the words हेम, मणि, चंद, व्याण, सृदि and रिसी we get the author's name Hemacanda Sūri.

In the two instances already noted, the clue to derive the name is given. Now, I shall refer to verses where such a clue does not seem to be specifically pointed out. Take the case of the following verse from Sanghapattakar of Jinavallabha Sūri.

" विश्राजिष्णुमगर्व्वमस्मरमनासादं श्रुतोहुंघने सज्ज्ञान्युमणि जिनं वरवपुःश्रीचन्द्रिकाभेश्वरम् । वन्दे वर्ण्यमनेकथा सुरनरैः शकेण चेन्दिछदं दम्भारि विदुषां सदा सुवचसाऽनेकान्तरङ्गपदम् ॥ ३८ ॥ "

This verse can be arranged as a cakrabandha? for which the reader is referred to the diagram facing this very page.

Somatilaka Sūri, too, has ingenuously suggeted his name in the following verse:—

" यस्त्वां श्रीजिन ! सुदितोत्मद्मनश्चोरः प्रणौति श्रमं जित्वा सोढगरिष्टकष्टदहनं शोचिष्णुभाल्युतस् । दत्ताऽमर्त्यपवित्रसंमद ! पठन् कान्तं विशङ्कः स्तवं वन्यान्हाय भवान् जिनः प्रददतामन्येऽपि तस्मै शिवस् ॥ १२ ॥

By taking from each of the first these caranas the 3rd, 17th, 6th and 14th letters respectively we get:—

"शीसोमतिलकसूरिविरचितं ''

Sometimes an author introduces his name through a *ślesa*. For instance Dhanapāla ⁴ (Pr. Dhanavāla) has done so in the last verse of Rsabha-pañcāsikā ⁵ which runs as under:—

¹ This work is published in Gaekwad Oriental Series as No. XXXVII pp. 81-86. In the Govt. Mss. Library depoisted at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, there are Mss. of this work and those for its commentary etc. All of them are described by me in "the Descriptive Catalogue of Jajna Mss." Vol. XVIII about to be sent to the press.

² This is here reproduced from my D. C. J. M.

As regards other peculiarities of this verse, the reader is referred to my Sanskrit bhūmikā (p. 26) of Stuticaturvithśatikā of Śobhana Muni.

⁴ He is a brother of Sobhana Muni whose Stuticaturvimsatika was commented upon by him. This is published by the Agamodaya Samiti as No. 52.

⁵ This work is edited by me with various commentaries etc., and is published in D. L. J. P. F. Series as No. 83 together with two other works of Dhanapāla.

" इय उझाणग्गिपलीवियकस्मिधणबालबुद्धिणा वि मए । भत्तीइच्छुओ भवभयसमुद्दबोहित्थबोहिफलो ॥ ५० ॥ ''

Samayasundara Upādhyāya has mentioned his name in Kalpalatā 1 at the end of each of the 9 vyākhyānas. He has adopted the well-known method of splitting up the name into two parts and of suggesting their positons. This will be clear from the following verse:—

" व्याख्यानं कल्पसुत्रस्य प्रथमं सुगमं स्फुटम् । ज्ञिष्यार्थं पाठकाश्वजुः समयादिमसुन्द्राः॥"

Now a word about a Jaina writer mentioning the name of his guru, when he perhaps wants to remain incognito.

The avacurnikāra of Jinaprabha Sūri's Jināgamastava has introduced the name ² of his *guru* as could be seen from taking the 4th and the 5th letters from each of the 4 caranas of the following verse:—

"ध्यायन्ति श्रीविशेषाय गता वेशालयेन यम्। -----स्तुतिद्वाराजयशीदः श्रीवीरगुरुगोरवः॥"

Avacūrņikāra has himself said in the last verse that his *guru's* name is mentioned in a concealed form in the first verse. This last verse is as under:—

" आदिगुप्ताभिधानस्य गुरोः पादप्रसादतः । पद्विच्छेदरूपेयं विवृत्तिर्ह्णिखता मया ॥ ''

Vivekavilāsa is another work that may be referred to in this connection; for, from the first letter of each of the 4 caranas of the following verse we learn the name Jivadeva.

" जीववत् प्रतिमा यस्य वृचो मधुारिमाश्चितम् । देहं गेहं श्रियस्त्वं स्वं वन्दे स्वरिवरं गुरुम् ॥ ''

I This is a Sanskrit commentary on Kalpasutra attributed to Bhadrabāhusvāmin. For a description of its Mss. see my D. C. J. M. Vol. XVII, pt. II; Nos. 520-522.

² विशालगजगुरू.

³ For this verse and the information connected with it, I am indebted to Muniraja Punyavijayaji.

REVIEWS

PRAVACANASĀRA: [The Pravacanasāra of Kundakunda Ācārya together with the commentary Tattvadīpikā by Amṛtacandra Sūri, with English Translation by BAREND FADDEGON, Edited with an Introduction by F. W. THOMAS, Cambridge. 1935, pp. xxiv+228, Jaina Literature Society Series Vol. I, Price 15s. net].

Kundakunda is unquestionably an authority on Jaina dogmatics; and his Pravacanasāra, despite its sectarian touches, especially certain leanings towards the so called Digambara persuasion, is a quintessential composition dealing with epistemological, ontological and monastic aspects of Jainism. On this Text there are Sanskrit commentaries of Amrtacandra, Jayasena, Prabhācandra and Mallisena; and besides there are Kannada and Hindi commentaries by Balacandra and Hemaraja respectively (For a detailed information about them see my Introduction pp. 97 etc. to Prvacanasara which is in the press being published by the Rāyachandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay).* Of all the works of Kundakunda this work has attracted more attention of orientalists since its contents were summarised by R. G. Bhandarkar in his Report for 1884. The present publication is an English translation of 'the Prakrit stanzas of Kundakunda together with the commentary of Amrtacandra.'

The Editor has added an Introduction of about 14 pp. discussing some important topics about Kundakunda and his works. The editor, after surveying the views of Pt. Gajādharalāl (who closely follows Pt. Premi Jaina Hitaishī Vol. X.) that Kundakunda belonged to c. 250 A. D., and those of K. B. Pathak that he belonged to the 6th century, comes to a possible conclusion that Kundakunda flourished in the 3rd or the 4th century of the Christian era especially in the light of the Jaina tradition, the general

Since published.

tone of his works, the manner of his references to scriptures and the possibility that he was earlier than Umasvati.

The question of the date of Kundakunda is a most perplexing one. It is true that the Pattavalis are not reliable and the inscriptions not contemporary evidences; but if they agree on fundamental points and if there is no conflict from other sources. their information does deserve a judicious consideration in the light of other circumstantial evidence. The editor has not detected another weak point in Prof. Pathak's uneven arguments, namely, the meaning of the word anvaya as taken by Pathak. It is accepted that the anvaya of Kundakunda existed as early as 6th or 7th century A. D.; but from this it does not follow that Kundakunda lived about 528 A. D., because, for instance, Padmanandi of the 15th century A. D. calls himself a Kundakundānvaya-dhurina. Pathak's evidences cannot supply any earlier limit. Pathak's attempt to identify Sivakumāra with a contemporary king was only a probability, because it is Jayasena, who comes about one thousand years later, that tells us that Kundakunda wrote for one Śivakumāra Mahārāja. The argument cannot 'disappear,' but it has to be understood with certain reservations. To quote a parallel case, there are scholars who would take Kālidāsa and Dignaga as contemporaries on the authority of a dubious statement of Mallinatha. Further the editor remarks, 'what is more decisive is that it (i. e. Śivakumāra) is known as the name of the hero of an old Jaina story which is alluded to by Kundakunda himself (Bhāvaprābhṛta v. 51): this must be the ultimate basis of the late commentator's association of Kundakunda with a king of that name'. It cannot be decisive but only plausible, because Kundakunda refers not only to Sivakumāra but to many other persons: Bāhubali (Bhāvapāhuda v. 44) Madhupinga (v. 45), Vasistha (v. 46), Bāhu (v. 49), Dīpāyana (v. 50), Bhavyasena (v. 52), Šivabhūti (v. 53), Surattaputta (Silapāhuda v. 30) etc.; and there is no reason why Jayasena should specially select the name of Sivakumāra alone and take him to be a contemporary of Kundakunda. About the priority of Kundakunda over Umāsvāti there is not much doubt, and it can be shown that many sūtras of Umāsvāti closely follow certain gāthās from Kundakunda's works. A close comparison of the Svetāmbara

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canon with the works of Kundakunda shows that they inherit much that is common, and, as I have said elsewhere, the works of Kundakunda are of a compilatory character, put together by way of memory notes at a time when Digambaras refused to accept the canon as shaped by the Pataliputra council. explains why some of his works are called Saras and Pahudas. The editor rightly says that the references to non-Jaina schools do not help us to settle the date definitely. One is perfectly aware that the Prakrit dialect would yield 'no chronological certainties,' but this should not be an excuse, as it has been in the case of our editor, to neglect that aspect altogether. Savants like Pischel and Jacobi have often used the dialectal evidence in matters of relative chronology; and a moderate attempt, so far as Pravacanasāra is concerned, has been already made by me in this direction (See Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. II, part VI). Towards the problem of Kundakunda's date I might further add that the Merkara copper plates of 466 A. D. (looked upon as apocryphal by some) mention Kundakundanyaya, and Sarvarthasidahi (II, 10) of Pūjyapāda quotes some gāthās in the same order as found in Bārasa Anuvekkhā of Kundakunda. A close study of their works shows that the relative chronology should be like this: Kundakunda, Umāsvāti, Samantabhadra, Siddhasena and Pūjyapāda (c. 5th century A. D.). So it is more probable that Kundakunda flourished at the beginning of the Christian era, as I have shown in my Introduction. The editor has not taken into consideration Prof. Chakravarti's dicussion about Kundakunda's date, though he mentions his edition of Pañcāstikāya.

The editor's discussion about Kundakunda's work is very poor. He gives merely the editions, and we do not get any information about the form and contents of various works of Kundakunda. The facts that some Mss. of Mūlācāra attribute its authorship to Kundakunda and that Prabhācandra attributes Prakrit Bhaktis to Kundakunda are not at all noticed by the editor. It appears that even some of the good editions of Kundakunda's works have not reached the hands of the editor; for instance, Sat-Prābhītādi-samgraha, Ed. Māṇikachandra Jaina Granthamālā, Vol. 17, which contains the Sanskrit commentary of Śrutasāgara etc. and the edition of Samayasāra published by Rāya chandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay, 1919.

¹² Annals, [B. O. R. I.]

The editor remarks that stanzas 24-34 of Chap. II (III ?) seem out of place and have the air of an interpolation. It is a hasty pronouncement. I have studied the whole problem, and have come to the conclusion that these gāthās are not inconsistent with the utterances of Kundakunda in his other works; some of the gāthās so left by Amṛtacandra are very old ones, and some of them are already known to him (See the discussion in my introduction to *Pravacanasāra* pp. 50-54). Still the question remains why Amṛtacandra has not included them in his recension.

In one place the editor says: 'in the works attributed to Kundakunda there are no allusions to particular scriptures.' I may point out here that Kundakunda definitely refers to a Pratikramana-sūtra in his Niyamasāra, gāthā 94 (Padikāmana-nāmadheye sutte jaha vannidam padikamanam).

There are certain errors of facts in the Introduction of the editor, and they require correction. There is no such work as Prābhrtasāra (p. xv) on which Bālacandra is said to have written a commentary: in fact he has commented on all the three works (Pañcāstikāya, Pravacunasāra and Samayasāra) of Kundakunda; it was an error first committed by K. B. Pathak, and that appears to be followed here. Vardhanadeva (p. xv) is not known from any references: the correct name is Srivardhadeva who is often identified with one Tumbūlūrācārya and not Tumbūlācārya. Silapāhuda refers to Surattaputta and not to Rudra Sātyakiputra (p. xvi); the editor should have looked to the Prakrit gatha and not easily be misled by the Sanskrit rendering Astaprabhṛta is not at all the name of a work with 'eight topics' (p. xix), but it is an editorial designation given to eight small treatises, each quite independent of the other, attributed to Kundakunda; it is an error similar to Chappahuda which is a designation for six pāhudas (excepting Linga and Sila-pāhuda). Niyama in the title of Niyamasara does not mean the 'rule of life,' but the text is so called because it discusses about three jewels which necessarily (niyamena) lead the soul to liberation. There is no edition of Niyamasāra by Gajādharalāl; perhaps the editor means Samayaprābhrtam. Samayasāra-kalaša-nātaka is not at all an independent work of Amrtacandra, but it is only a name given to a

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compilation of all the verses from his commentary on Samayasāra. The name of Amrtacandra's commentary on Samayasāra is not Tātparyavrtti but Ātmakhyāti.

The Prakrit gathas are often cryptic. The style of Amrtacandra's commentary is artificial, elaborate and heavy. It is a pleasure to read and enjoy the sound and sense of Amrtacandra's utterances, but to translate the same with justice is a hard task. So turning to the translation one finds that the gathas have been interpreted mainly according to Amrtacandra's commentary. Differences in translation are possible in many places, and even mistakes can be pointed out here and there. A few typical errors might be noted: in gāthā I, 13 visayātīdam = 'surpassing objects' is not correct; visaya undoubtedly refers to indriva-visaya. In gāthā I, 74 jīvānam devadamtānam = 'including those of gods': the translation may be accepted, but the force of amtanam is missed; the gatha has in view the enumeration of four kinds of mundane beings in which the gods come last. The rendering of poggalajivappagassa (II, 37) as 'which has souls and matter for self' is a good illustration how the translator is guided by the Dictionary even at the cost of the sense. The gathas especially could have been translated more literally in many places: for instance $dhoda-gh\bar{a}di-kamma-malam = 'free from the stain of$ destructive Karmas'; the exact significance of dhoda is missed. The long sentence parama-Bhattāraka etc. is rendered as 'prostrate myself before the holy Vardhamana the mention of whose name is auspicious and is worthy of being praised by the most excellent Masters (bhattārakas), Great Gods, Tutelary deities and Supreme Lords (parmesvaras)' (p. 3). Any one acquainted with the usual epithets of a Tirthamkara added by commentators will immediately see that Paramabhattaraka etc. are the adjectives of Vardhamāna; and this way of rendering upsets the various notions of Jaina pantheon. There are many such errors here and there. When Amrtacandra writes in an involved style the translation also becomes tiresome. When Amrtacandra's sentences are short, the translation is lucid and refreshing (I, 44). Some of the footnotes are important and informative. These differences and errors detected should not mean in any way the disparagement of performance. The translator has taken great

pains, and he has accomplished his task with an amount of success. The translator is not merely a cold academician, as can be seen from one of his remarks; 'During these last years I have realised the joy of a deeper and better understanding of the Jaina religion.'

The translator should have outlined to us in the Introduction a general survey of the philosophical tenets of Jainism as given in *Pravacanasāra* in comparison with other leading systems of Indian philosophy, because every student cannot be expected to wade through the currents and cross-currents of a commentator's elaboration. The present publication is a good addition to our knowledge of Jainism; and it is hoped that the Boden Professor of Sanskrit would soon issue the various volumes of the 'projected series' of the Jaina Literature Society that the Jaina studies might go ahead to keep pace with Vedic and Buddhistic studies.

A. N. Upadhye

INDO-ARYAN LITERATURE AND CULTURE = ORIGINS = BY PROF. NAGENDRANATH GHOSE, M. A., B. L., of the Dacca University. (The Book Company Ld., Calcutta, 1934.)

This work, meant, according to the learned author, for "the remaking of a lost world," gives, to what are hitherto considered as "absurdities and insoluble puzzles," in the Indo-Aryan literature, "their own natural place and position in the newly oriented world."

Although bound in one volume, the book contains two separate works: the first runs over a large extent, and deals with the history of the Vrātyas of the East; while the second, which covers only the last (XIV) section, is devoted to culling the material out of the present Mahābhārata,—the materiel which alone, in the opinion of the learned author, formed the original "Draupadī-Sāgā," and was subsequently added to, and even altered, most mischievously by the wretched Brahman redactors.

It has been, hitherto, the fashion of the Western Scholars to take to task, off and on, the so called Brahman authors of old Indian literature, whenever these scholars found something unpalatable to their own taste or to their peculiar mode of reasoning. The learned author of the work under review, while disagreeing with the scholars of the 19th century, on some vital points, has, most faithfully followed the fashion of putting the whole blame upon the Brahman class, for giving a form to the Indian literature, which, in his opinion, cught to have existed in some other form, originally. In fact, this tendency has, in the present work of Prof. Ghose, reached such a pitch, that even an indifferent reader would think it highly ridiculous.

One who is given to reading a literature somewhat intensively, forms some ideas of his own; and once possessed by these ideas, he makes his own hypothesis, and works it out according to his own particular views, all the while, believing that he is doing something great. But the public, and especially the

keen-eyed critic, not being so biased, looks at the work from an impartial view-point, and it is thus that the real worth of any work is ultimately decided.

That the wholesale condemnation of the Brahmans, as a class, was so long done, and supported too, with some political motive, is now generally known, and the work seems to have recently been given up as a task achieved. Prof. Ghose, in harping upon the same tune, seems to serve kicks to a dead body!—not a very brave feat, indeed!

Leaving this main item, there remains very little indeed, that can be looked at as research work! The thesis, laid down by the learned Professor, seems to have been constructed on the Vrātya literature, and, "remains," in the words of the author himself, "a matter of purely personal conjecture, unrelated altogether to the data of demonstrable historicity."

Thus prepared, the reader may now look into the work itself: While the Aryan colonies were established in the Punjab, and the Western part of India, the East was populated by the Vrātyas, who had their own religion, and were ruled by their own kings. Some Brahmans, being harassed by the oppression of Ksatriya rulers, left the Aryan colonies, and emigrated to the Vrātya country, in the East, where they Aryanised the whole population by certain Samskāras (ceremonials). This, in main, is the theory of the learned Professor, who has collected his material from the Atharva Veda, and some Brahmana works, as also from some of the Puranas. Prof. Ghose further holds that the Vedic literature was, as a whole, subsequently thoroughly revised by the priests who had managed to put down their oppressors by the help of the Vrātya Kings, and thus, with mutual borrowing, made the whole of the population equally Aryanised, with a newly cast Vedic literature to suit the needs of the aryanised Vratyas; and the collection of hymns regarding these latter, mainly covers the Atharva Veda.

Then the author, in the last section of his works, turns towards the Mahābhārata, the great Indian Epic, and with certain convictions already settled in his mind, offers, to the reader, the material of the Draupadi Saga, upon which the present huge

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Brahmanical structure of the Epic, subsequently came to be built. The author,—the seer of this original sagal—cuts away the brahmanical portions so as to make out a form of the Saga. Thus, "the Satyavati Bhisma colloquy, and its uncomely issue," -meaning the Niyoga episode,-is cut out as a Brahmanic elaboration. Pāndu's Sons, too, are held to be his own work; Drona, his absurd son Asvatthaman, and all about these, are held to be "a pure Brahmanic fabrication foisted on the original Saga." Without giving a complete list of the these "vile" fabrications, it would be well to reproduce here what, according to the author, is "an absolutely sure test" for finding out these mischiefs from the present bulky form of our ancient Indian literature: "when any part of the narrative is found to be totally lacking in verisimilitude, and is, at the same time, seen to imply extravagant glorification of the Brahman, speially if this be at the expense of some other class, and even more so if it involves the humiliation of that class, then we may have the rechauff patented as sixteen -annas Brahman-made." (p. 195).

S. N. Tadpatrikar

FESTSCHRIFT MORIZ WINTERNITZ, herausgegeben von Otto Stein und Wilhelm Gampert, 1933, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig. Pp. XIV+357.

It is in the fitness of things that the life of a scholar should be crowned at a ripe old age with a volume of studies as a mark of respect from his fellow scholars, and we have been long accustomed to these Festschrifts. But none deserves it more than this veteran scholar who for more than two decades has carried on the torch of the older generation of scholars. Winternitz's name is familiar to all students of Sanskrit Literature and is one to conjure with in many of its departments.

The work is divided into the following sections: Language, Literature, Religion, Philosophy, Culture and History, to wit, the various fields in which the learned Professor has shown keen interest. In the first section Debrunner (joint author of Altindische Grammatik, III) has an interesting note on the type nesa and parsa of the Vedic imperative in -si; Renou gives an exhaustive list of words in -ima in Sanskrit and studies the derivation of this interesting suffix. Among other interesting articles on Linguistics may be mentioned Alsdorf's observations on Pischel's Materialen zur Kenntnis des Apabhramsa.

The literature section is enriched by Weller on the Text-Criticism of the Mahābhārata, Schrader on the Recensions of the Bhagavadgītā, Meyer on the Cultivation of Trees in the Agnipurāṇa. The following names will vouch for the all-round authority and interest of this section: Richard Schmidt, Gode, Sarup and Koerner.

In the section on Religion we have Shamasastry on the Conception of Sin in the Vedas, Mrs. Rhys Davids on a Vanished Sakyan window, E. J. Thomas on Pre-Pāli terms in the Pātimokkha, Sieg and Siegling on the Fragments of a Udāna-commentary in Tokharian, Zachariae on Jain authors of the 16th and 17th Centuries, Aiyangar on Pāñcarātra in classical Tamil literature, and De on Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal.

The section on Philosophy contains useful contributions on various aspects from Strauss, Edgerton, Hiriyanna, Sharma, Coomaraswamy, Frauwallner, Tucci, Schayer and Tavadia, all of which are as interesting as they are brief.

In the final chapter we meet with such well-known scholars like Charpentier, Geiger, Norman Brown, Przyluski, etc. Each contribution is the fruit of deep thought in the particular field, and to give a detailed criticism of the more important studies would require a volume in itself, which, indeed, is the highest praise for a Commemoration Volume.

Finally Prof. Winternitz is to be congratulated on having established such a wide circle of admirers, friends and pupils among all generations of scholars, and the Volume under review which is as fitting a tribute to his genius as to that of the different authors, deserves to be in the book shelf of every lover of India's

Culture and Scholarship.

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[PART II

"VEDIC GODS: 1 IV." 1

BY

HIRALAL AMRIILAL SHAH, B. A., (Bombay, 2.).

SECTION-I: GODS "VARUNA-MITRA-SURYA:

(1) Gal Varun:— Fortunately for us, we possess a very distinctive description of the God Varuna in one of the hymns of Rgveda It says that he knows the course of ships on the sea. This is how the verse reads:—

"वेदा यो वीनां पदमन्तिशिण पतताम् । वेद नावः समुद्रियः ॥" RV I. 25.7. ("Who knows the way of the birds that keep flying in the heaven (-'Antarikṣa'); who knows the course of ships on the sea.").

Herein, it seems, we get a clue as to the exact nature of this Vedic god. The course of navigation has ever been determined by the mariner's compass which always shows the North, the needle pointing to the North Pole. It, therefore, suggests to me to take this particular description to refer to the *Pole Star* (a Ursæ Minoris-Polaris) the well known *Dhruva* star or to its regent god who knows the course of ships on sea. In RV. VII, 49, 3, we find that Varuna is associated with "waters" as their king. At this

¹ This paper was read before the 7th Oriental Conference, Baroda, in Dec. 1933; it has been enlarged and improved subsequently. Its summary will be found in the Proceedings of the Conference on pp. 125-130. For resume and references see paras 86, 87. For Table of contents etc., see pp. 149-172.

stage, we will not discuss the nature of "Apaḥ (आप:)" in the RV. It is evident that Varuna is connected with "sea" in one way or the other.

(2) Varuna knows the ways of the birds that soar in Antariksa. The "bird" here does not seem to be an ordinary bird which flies. It seems to refer to stars which have their course in the sky. We find that the Sun is called a bird:—

"In various passages Sūrya is conceived as a bird traversing space. He is a bird (X, 177, 1-2), or a ruddy bird (V, 47, 3), is represented as flying (I, 191, 9), is compared with a flying eagle (VII, 63, 5) and seems to be directly called an eagle (V, 45, 9)..........." (Mac. p. 31).

If flying 'birds' are in reality the stars, then the reference to the knowledge of Varuna in their connection seems to be the Polar Longitudes and the Polar Latitudes which pass on, from Dhruva to all the stars and all the places. It is in this sense that (we think) the description of the god Varuna-the regent god of Dhruva as universal monarch, with spies and with a knowledge of all people, is appropriate. He is the only steady one in the changing and revolving universe. That way we prefer to interpret the verses in RV. I, 25, 10-13.

(3) It is significant that Varuna is associated with night. This fact would go to support his stellar nature and his visibility at night. We read that—

"In another passage (VIII, 41, 3) it is said that Varuna has embraced (pari sasvaje) the nights, and by his occult power has established the mornings or days (usrah).....In the later Vedic period of the Brāhmanas, Varuna comes to be specially connected with the nocturnal heaven. Thus Mitra is said to have produced the day and Varuna the night (TS. VI, 4, 8, 3.); and the day is said to belong to Mitra and the night to Varuna (TS II, 1, 7, 4.)." (Mac. p 25).

(4) God Mitra: Dhruva star is further associated (on earth) with the Gnomon (Śańku) which is inclined to its altitude: it fixes up the n.rthern direction (one of the jour cardinal points)

¹ Cf. para 65 "Sindhu" and note to Para 58 with reference to "Fish" and "sea" in connections with Canopus and Vasistha).

must as, on sea, for the same purpose, it is helpful to the navigator through his compass. For an idea of the Sanku of this type 'we may well think of the one that is to be seen in the Indian astronomical observatories of Jai Simha at Ujjain, Jaipur, Delhi and Benares and which is therein known as the "Samrāṭ-Yantra." (Kaye p. 35ff., p. 41ff.) This type of Sanku is of prime importance for the measurement of time, with the help of the shadow the sun casts on it and on its equatorial side quadrants facing East and West (the two other cardinal points). It will be seen that the description of Varuna is "बेद मास धुतवती द्वादश प्रजावत: । बेदा य उपजायते ॥"

("The righteous knows the twelve months with the family; he knows the offshoot that arises therefrom." (RV. I, 25, 8.).

This description of Varuna brings us to the consideration of measurement of time which is done through Śanku.

(5) The associate god of Varuna is Mitra God in Vedas and therefore, we may as well take this Mitra God to be a personification or the regent god of Śanku, the Indian Gnomon (associated with Dhruva) and then reread the passage (quoted above) which says that the day belongs to Mitra. It is this character of Mitra, that his description of impelling men to action and helping them (or the agriculturists) acquires its proper sense:—

"मित्रो जनान्यातयति बुवाणो मित्रो दाधार पृथिवीमुत याम्। मित्रः कृष्टीशनिमिषाभि चष्टे मित्राय हव्यं घृतवज्जुहोत॥"

We read in the "Pañcasiddhāntikā" Ch. XIII about the Gnomon as under:-

[&]quot;The observer placing his eye at the base of the straight gnomon, is to incline it in such a way, that the top of the gnomon is in the straight line joining the eye and the Pole Star" (31'.

[&]quot;At Lanka this observation is performed with a gnomon lying flat on the surface, on Sumeru with one standing upright, and in the intermediate regions with one inclined more or less" (32).

[&]quot;The people at Lanka see the *Pole star* in the horizon; those on the Meru in the Zenith; those dwelling between, see it between (the Horizon and the Zenith)" (26).

[[]From G. Thibaut's translation (1889) reprinted by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, 1930 (p. 86).]

It should not be forgotten that the northern point of this Sanku is in the Pole Star in Dhruva Star and not in the Polar Point.

² Thus the 'Friendly' function of the Mitra God arises co-ordinating the function of the two gods Varuna and Sun.

" It is the voice of Mitra that impels men:

Mitra sustains earth as also heaven; with a steady gaze; Mitra watches the active folk (or agriculturists). Pour to Mitra the luscious oblation." (RV. III, 59, 1).

(6) The function of Mitra and Varuna can now be followed when it is said about it as under:—

"In the AV. (IX, 3.18) Mitra is asked to uncover in the morning what has been covered up by Varuna." "In the AV. (XIII, 3, 13) Mitra at sunrise is contrasted with Varuna in the evening" (Mac. P. 29).

The antithesis between Mitra and Varuna is expressed as ander:--

"S. B. (XII, 9, 2, 12) asserts that this world is Mitra, that (the celestial) world is Varuna." (Mac P. 25).

In company with Varuna:---

"By occult power Varuna, standing in the air, measures out the earth with the sun as with a measure (V, 85, 5,) Varuna and Mitra send the dawns (III, 61, 7), make the sun to cross the sky and obscure it with cloud and rain, while the honeyed drops fall (V, 63, 4); or (V, 63, 3 and 7) they cause heaven to rain and they uphold the ordinances by the occult power of the Asura (here-Dyaus or Parjanya), "(Mac. P. 24).

(7) Perhaps the golden shield (RV. I, 25, 13) or the covering which Varuna is said to be putting on before sending out spies (spasas) relate to his using the sun as a measure during day-time. We will consider the "Dawns"-Usas-later on.

MITRA-VARUNA :- and SUN

(8) Both these gods Mitra and Varuna constitute an entity as described above. Their eye is Sūrya, the sun (Mac. p. 30:—"The eye of Sūrya is mentioned several times (V. 40, 8 etc.) but he is himself equally often called the eye of Mitra and Varuna (cf. Mac. p. 23) or of Agni as well (I, 115, 1,)."

It is natural that Mitra (Sanku) is closely associated with the sun at day-time; accordingly it has led Vedic scholars to take him for a Sun-God or a god of light specially connected with the Sun:—

"The somewhat scanty evidence of the Veda showing that Mitra is a solar deity, is corroborated by the Avesta and Persian Vedic Gods 101

religion in general. Here Mithra is undoubtedly a Sun-god or a god of light specially connected with the Sun." (Mac. p. 30).

- (9) We may point out that the beneficent nature of Mitra of the Veda (and Mithra of the Avesta) consists in the essential need he fulfils by supplying the measurements of time, for proper action and for performance of rites or rituals. The ethical side of this god arises in that way. The measurement follows upon the linking of the North (with Varuna) and the East (with Sūrya) with the help of this god.
- (10) It will now be interesting to note what is said about Varuna:--

"The hypothesis recently advanced by Oldenberg that Varuna primarily represented the moon, cannot be passed over here...... he believes that Varuna and Mitra were the moon and the sun..... This hypothesis does not seem to account at all well for the actual characteristics of Varuna in the Raveda...... It has already been mentioned that Varuna goes back to the Indo-tranian period, for the Ahura Mazda of the Avesta agrees with him in character though not in name. The name of Varuna may even be Indo-European. At least, the long accepted identification of the word with the Greek "our anos", though presenting phonetic difficulties, has not been rejected by some recent authorities on comparative philology" (Mac. p. 28). (cf. para 69.)

DEVAS-STARS

(11) The difficulties that the scholars experienced in a proper understanding of the Vedic gods such as Varuna, Mitra etc. is quite natural. The impressions which work with them are that the Vedic seers merely sang the glories of a variety of natural phenomena. Hence the scholars naturally restrict their attention to some obvious happenings such as storm, wind, lightning, dawn, fire, rains; or to the course of sun and moon or at times to some tribal history. But the mention of them as shiring ones, lustrous as conveyed by the sense of "div"-to shine-in the word "Deva" used for gods, would naturally invite our attention to the starry realm for a solution of the enigma. The foremost in such an astronomical realm is, as we suggest, Dhruva in the Varuna; and the second identity is of Mitra with the Śańku connected with Dhruva, as Mitra is connected with Varuna. Both are connected with the sun and moon as every other star

is connected with them. The connection of Mitra with Time (through Dhruva and Sun) necessarily leads us to a consideration of the Vedic calendar with its sostice and equinoctial points and without which, we will never be able to comprehend the nature of other Vedic creations, much less their grouping together on several occasions in several hymns. We have already covered some ground in our explanations of the grouping together of Mitra and Varuna.

(12) Before proceeding with the determination of the Vedic calendar, it will not be out of place to note that what applies to the Vedic texts does apply to the texts of other non-Indian religions where strong resemblances either to the Vedic conceptions, to Vedic narrations or to Vedic terminology are a marked characteristic. A better understanding of Varuna and Mitra will therefore naturally elucidate the basic conception of the greatest (Iranian) god AhuraMazda and of god Mithra. Similarly, Vedic Vṛṭra, Soma, Yama, Vivasvat, will naturally help us all to know the Iranian Verethraghna, Haoma, Yima and Vivanhvant better than before. Vedic Mātariśvan will help us to see through the legend of Prometheus. Even this episode requires a clearer conception of the Vedic (stellar) calendar that the Vedic seers seem to have fixed up.

SECTION-II: OLD CALENDAR

(13) Vedic Catendar:— In order to understand other Vedic gods, it will be necessary for us to understand the nature of the Vedic months, Vedic Year, the Solstices and the Equinoctial points thereof and the system and division of constellations. We have practically no direct evidence which may be considered to be of the nature of a positive proof. We are left to gather and infer from many sources which differ widely and which do not reconcile with one another easily in their variances; and in the absence of one good reliable data, the choice of any particular one, or a suitable explanation of any growth that cannot be explained is difficult and the task becomes somewhat perilous. It can be easily seen that many hands must work at it and the limitations of a single individual applies very well to the humble but a bold attempt of the present writer. It has been found that many authors

must be kept out for our purposes of investigation; and so too, the many prevalent theories (ancient or modern) have to be laid aside in this matter. And above all, it has not been possible for the writer to go through several previous attempts that the learned (ancient and modern) scholars have made in this direction, because of the immensity of the controversial nature of the subject, and of the limited ability of the writer.

- (14) As we quoted before, Varuna knows twelve months and the co-related matters with the offshoots. It does point to the adoption of a year of 12 luni-solar months and its adjustment to the solar year. It cannot be forgotten that in India, the very names of the months and their connection with the lunar mansions, bring to us the consideration of the system of Indian constellations which also has to be determined for the application to the Vedic conceptions. And herein we possess a great advantage in the present investigations because all the zodiacal constellations and many prominent stars and star-groups have their regent gods known to us. Since we find Varuna to be one of the starry realm, we can extend our scope in that direction to see if we get results which are better than what have been obtained hitherto without reference to stars or to the true old calendar.
- (15) We refer to the works of Kālīdāsa and of Kauṭilya for our purpose since they bear the impress of profound scholarship and of their inclination to the Veduc love and because they are least modified or tampered with and therefore they can be relied upon as a safe guide.
- (16) Pūrnimānta months:— In "Meghadūta," of Kālidāsa we read that the hero got the first glimpse of the approaching rainy season, on the last day of the Āṣāḍha month, that then the following Śrāvaṇa month was quite near to it and that since the day he saw the clouds, he had to spend four more months in exile, its termination being the 11th day in the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika, when Lord Viṣṇu wakes from his sleep. There is one variant reading in this text which would mean that it was the 'first' day of Āṣāḍha rather than the last one when the clouds were visible. It has taxed the ingenuity of the commentators to square the latter variant reading with all that is related above in this connection. They ultimately leave the

text to itself stating that it is not to be literally interpreted. They are in such a fix because they understand the months to be of the Amanta type, starting with the moment of New moon. However, such is not the case. The months herein are Pūrnimanta type, ending with the bright fortnight

The portions of the text here referred to are as under:-

"आषाढस्य प्रशमदिवसे मेघमाश्विष्टसानुम्।' (v. l. 'प्रथमदिवसे') MeghaDūta-2.

"प्रत्यासन्ने नभिस द्यिताजीवितालम्बनार्थी।", ,, ,, -4.

" शापान्तों में भुजगशयनादुन्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ

मासानन्यान् गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलायित्वा ॥ '

(v. l. ' शेषान्मासान ') " , -115.

["...(saw) on the last day of Aṣāḍ:a a cloud, resting on the top of the hill (2)." "Desirous of sustaining the life of his beloved wife, the mon h of Śrāvana being at hand (4); My curse will terminate when Lord Visuu rises from his sleep resting till then on the serpent; pass the remaining four months with the eyes shut........" (115)]

Since 30 Tithis (a tithi is one digit of moon in the luni-solar month of 30 tiths) would constitute 29½ solar days, four months (of 120 digits-luni solar tithis) would require 29½ × 4 = 118 solar days (according to the Arthasastra of Kautilya). Since 30½ solar days constitute a solar month 30½ × 4 = 122 solar days would make up four solar months; and since it is only 11th day (in the bright fortnight) when the curse is to terminate, four days of the fortnight (at the end the fourth month) are deducted from 122, which brings the total of day (of four months) to 118th day from the time the clouds first appeared. It will be seen that the months do end with bright half if the portions of the text stand co-related as they do. Śrāvaṇa would be near to Asādha only if it is ending in its full moon.

(17) Let us take up the Arthasastra of Kautilya, to determine the nature of the calendar in vogue in his days (B. C. 4th cent).

" त्रिशतं चतुःपश्चाशचाहोरात्राणां कर्मसंवत्सरः । तमाषाढीपर्यवसानमूनं पूर्णं वा द्यात् । करणाधिष्ठितमधिमासकं कुर्यात् । " (Ch. II, 7, 25).

[cf. 'Jain Text' — 'C' on p. 154 and note thereon].
"The Civil Year will constitute 354 solar days. He should

roay him in that year more or less when it is completed on the full moon of the month Aṣāḍha, ('आपार्टा'). He must provide for the extra month determined as per its procedure (Karana)."

We learn from Kautilya that the month Aṣādha (which, we saw, ended at full moon) constitutes the last month in the hot season, while the rainy season with Śrāvaṇa ushers the southern course of sun. The mid-day (at Ujjain as per Indain convention) in the month of Aṣādha is the day when the shadow (cast on Śanku by the sun on its reaching the summer solstice point) disappears. The equinoctial days-a day of 15 muhūrtas and the night of 15 muhūrtas-occur in the months of Caitra and Aśvayuja (solar month).

The text of the above referred to passages is as under:--

"श्रावणः प्रोष्ठपदश्च वर्षो । आश्वयुजः कार्तिकश्च शरत् । मार्गशर्षः पौषश्च हेमन्तः ।

"'माघः फाल्गुनश्च शिक्षिरः । चैत्रो वैशाखश्च वस्नन्तः । ज्येष्ठामूलीय आषाढश्च ग्रीष्मः ।

"शिशिराबुत्तरायणम् । वर्षादि दक्षिणायनम् । द्व्ययनस्सँवत्सरः।" "आषाढे मासि नष्टक्छायो मध्याह्नो भवति।"

"णश्चद्सप्रहूर्तो दिवसो रात्रिश्च चैत्रे मास्याश्वयुजे च मासि भवतः ।" (Ch. II, 20, 38.)

[Cf. 'Jains Texts—'C. E. L. on pp. 154-161 and notes thereon].

in vogue then points to the solstice points on the first day of the solar month Śrāvaṇa, when it is the dark half because the civil year ends with full moon of the month Āṣāḍha (the difference between the two being adjusted by two extra luni-solar months in one cycle (yuga) of five solar years as shown in the concluding two verses of this chapter:—

"शिशिरायुत्तरायणम् । वर्षादि दक्षिणायनम् । द्व्ययनस्संवत्सरः । पश्चसंवत्सरो युगामिति । दिवसस्य हरत्यकंष्पष्टिभागमृतौ ततः । करोत्येकमहश्छेदं तथवकं च चन्द्रमाः ॥

2 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

एवमर्धतृतीयानामन्दानामधिमासकम् । ऋष्मि जनयतः पूर्वं पश्चान्दान्ते च पश्चिमम् ॥"

[H. 'पूर्वं ' ? or 'नूनं '?],

(Ch. 11, 20, 38).

(Cf. 'Jaina Texts '-- H. I. pp. 157-158).

"Seasons from Sisira and onwards constitute the Winter solstice and those from Varṣā and onwards constitute the Summer solstice. Two solstices make up one year - five years making up a cycle (Yuga). The sun carries off is in excess by 1/60th day of a (civil) day and thus 60 parts (1/60 × 60 = 1 day) make a complete day in a season of two months. Likewise the moon is short by 1/60th day in a day (civil) and is thus short by one complete day in a season of two months. In this way, when 2½ years are completed (60 luni-solar months are completed) there is an extra luni-solar month. In the end, when five years are over another (extra month) is added, at the end, in Grisma season."

Since the luni-solar year ends in the full-moon of Asadha ("आपादीपर्यवसानं") there can never be Grisma season at the end of 2½ years. Hence the last line of the verse in the text is either faulty or of a clumsy construction. It must either read "nūnam"=definitely instead of "Pūrvam"; or if "Pūrvam" reading holds good, it must be construed with the previous line of the verse, while the word "Grisme" should be taken with the word "Pañcābdānte".

(19) It appears then that the two solstice points, and therefore the two equinoctial points too are fixed in the solar year although, the digits of the moon at those particular four moments (of 2 solstices and of 2 equinoctials) naturally vary in a cycle of five solar years. But the point of interest lies in the fact we glean as to the exact place of the sun amongst stars at those four moments. That was just the reason (and not its day to day application) that we traced the nature of old calendar from the authentic source that is still available. It will be noticed that even these texts that we consulted are not left intact as we have noticed in the discussions (1) over a variant in the Meghadūta and (2) over the season of the first extra luni-solar

whonth at the end of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years in the Arthasastra. A further motice of this calendar is material to our investigations.

(20) The year: Luni-Solar: -- As 354 solar days comprised mene civil year (Arthasastra-Ch. II, 7, 25) ending with the full moon or luni-solar month Asadha, the counting of fortnights and months had to be adjusted, because 15 days made a fortnight and 30 days a (civil) month of two fortnights (ibid-Ch. II, 27, 38 '' पश्चदशाहोरात्राः पक्षः । सोमाप्यायनश्चुद्धः । सोमावच्छेदनी बहुछः । ाद्विपक्षो मासः । त्रिंशदहोरात्रः प्रकर्ममास ।" ["15 days and nights make one fortnight which is bright when the moon waxes and which is dark when the moon wanes. Two fortnights make a Civil month " and since twelve such months would make 360 such days, adjustment in civil counting (360 days) to the luni-solar phenomena amounting to 354 days was brought about by non-counting of one day every third and seventh fortnight in the season of four (Cf को °IX, 1, 135-36 कालः ज्ञीतोष्मवर्षात्मा etc.) months from Varsa. Thus 6 days are not counted days and the total stops at 354 days. Since the year begins in the dark half of Śrāvana (आपादीपर्यवसानं) one day of each of the dark fortnight of the months Bhadra, Karttika, Pausa, Phalgupa, Vaisakha, and Asadha will not be counted. To this effect is the text of the Arthasastra:--

"राजवर्षं मासः पक्षो दिवसश्च व्युष्ट वर्षाहेमन्त्रग्रीष्माणां तृतीयसप्तमा दिवसोनाः पक्षाइशेषाः पूर्णाः पृथगिषमासक इति कालः । (Ch. II, 6,24).

("The royal year, the month, the fortnight, the day the new year's day on Śrāvaṇa (first day of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa), the 3rd and 7th fortnight of three (six compressed into three) seasons-rainy, winter and summer season short by a day (3rd of 14 days; then 7th of 14 days-of each of the three seasons), the rest of the fortnights (of these three seasons) -intercalary month being separate-these are the divisions of time."

[Cf. Jain Text " M " on p. 161].

¹ We come across the usage of seasons with counting by fortnights in each, in several inscriptions of the second century A. D., at Nasik and Karle. E. I. Vol. VII pp. 61 to 71, Vol. VIII, pp. 59-94.

(21) Malamasa: The system of calendar thus fixed up in the Arthasastra is a cycle of five solar years made up of 1830 (5 × 366) solar days; to the solar years are adjusted the lunisolar year (of 354 days-12 months × 291 days) by two extra: luni-solar months within that cycle. Still, the adjustment is not complete because it comes to only 1829 days (62 months x $29^{1}/_{2}$ days = 1829 days). This discrepancy of a day within five years would necessarily obtrude upon the reality in course of several years as well as any such that may be in the length of the year of 366 days instead of a year of 365 days and odd. (The civil adjustment to the luni-solar year i. e. 36) days minus 6 non-calculated days to equate with 354 days in the year just shown before is not in question here). Hence, it looks, that the final adjustment of calculations to the recurrence of natural phenomena such as the exact time of completion of luni-solar year and of the return of the sun to the fixed points of soletice or equinoctials has been devised in the provision of "Mala Masa," an expurgated month (of perhaps varying number of days) at some future period, the period being determined by the school according to its own adoption of a data of the length of a lunisolar month (Kautilya has 29 !, days). The Jain system, the same as of Kautilya in most of the points, differs here, in as much as, the luni-solar month consists of 2932 days, 62 months making in all 1830 days, thus fully equating them with the cycle). We would interpret the text in the Arthasastra Ch. II, 20, 38, as under :--

Text:-- "दात्रिंशत् मलमासः । पश्चत्रिंशत्श्ववाहायाः । चत्वारिंशञ्च- स्तिवाहायाः ।"

Translation:—"Thirty second (solar year perhaps) has a suppressed (solar) month [days not stated]-[according to the system of the Arthasastra as implied by denomination of 2 other schools in this Malamasa section]. It is thirty fifth year according to the [school of] Asvavāhās (theirs being horse's speed). It is 40th year according to Hastivāhās [school] (theirs being speed of an elephant).

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- (22) It is quite plain that the word "Malamasa" means a suppressed month and that it is not an intercalary (आधास) month. The latter is invariably called "Adhimasa" in the three passages that we have quoted hithereto. Since this is a chapter on the calendar, reference to any scale of payment to horse-breeders or to elephant-breeders would be out of place. There is another construction possible and that is that the first school (of Kautilya) went by Solstice point, the second by the Vernal equinox point (in Asvini constellation) and the third was prominent either by its emphasis on the Hasta (Corvus) constellation or for the matter of fact by its preference for the Autumnal equinox (in Svati constellation). These suggestions are only hypothetical since we have no other evidence to check them: the only sure ground is that it is not 'अधिमास' (an intercalary, an added month) and that even solar year adjustments must have been found necessary at intervals. The bearing of this discussion is that the precession of equinoxes was an unknown thing and the system contained fixed points of two solstices or two equinaxes. This fact is very pertinent to our further consideration of the Vedic Gods when we are faced with a labyrinth of views as to the equinoxes, or as to the starting point in the month stated to be the first day of the bright half of Magha; cr views that the Vedas were composed or the materials for their composition arose in regions far away from India or that traces of polar life survive in some Vedic words or rituals or sacrifices. After getting a central view-point from the present investigations based upon authentic sources free from ceremonial bias and after its applications and the results obtained thereby, we shall be in a position to review all these views to enable us to trace their growth behind several hypothesis and to check them all, for ascertaining their proper value.
- under 'Jain Texts' pp. 154-161 and notes thereon]. The Jain system of calendar is very conservative. Even the later works try to preserve the views that were held during the sixth century B. C. At times we find that there are molifications even in these books (see quotation 'M' on p. 161), since the later authors found a considerable change in the seasons with reference to lunar mansions and to the lunar months. In spite of such aberrations

in the texts or in their commentaries, they collectively serve us as a guide for present investigations; and since the system propounded therein runs in a close parallel to the one propounded in the Arthasās ra we may safely switch over from the Arthas istra to what is related therein when we find that some particulars are not given in the former. It permits us to take a consistent and harmonious view of the calendar from both the sources and accordingly, there is ample scope for these Jain data, in our investigations related to the nature of the Vedic Gods. Since this article does not mean to serve a compendium of the data in Jain works or to explain the variance in details, the reader will have to be content with the barest mention of only the required data collected therefrom. The known Jain works are (1) "Süryaprajñapti,"(2) "Candraprajñapti," (3) "Jyctiskarandaka,"(4) "Jambudyīpaprajñapti," (5) "Kālalokaprakāśa". There are several others also. Those who desire to refer to the original will get a great help in the Sanskrit commentaries on some of their Magadhi texts.

- (21) The Jain system has a cycle of five solar years of a total of 1830 solar days, five luni-solar years of 62 months (60 usual luni-solar months plus two extra luni-solar months, to equate the luni-solar year to the solar one and to the completed cycle). It starts with the moment of summer solstice in the dark half of the month Śrāvaṇa, on its first day in early morning, with the moon in the Abhijit constellation then, (We have not yet seen anything of a 'Malamāsa' therein).
- (25) However we commend the system to the readers as supplementing that of the Arthasastra for the division of the ecliptic it gives, for the division spaces allotted to 28 constellations (the Abhijit constellation benig there), and for the daily and yearly courses of the Sun and of the Moon amongst those allotted spaces and for its equinoctial and solstice points according to the data that it has adopted. We shall give here their data as briefly as possible for the facility of the readers and in a tabulated form after giving their brief description, correlated to the probably Vedic one as might be justified because of the same system of the Arthasastra (See pp. 154-172).
- (26) <u>Ecliptic</u>:— In the Jain system, the ecliptic is made up of two styles. One of 1830 spaces and the other of 3660 spaces.

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The difference is not at all material since the former is as good as the latter and vice-versa. We will follow the division of 3660 spaces. The division of 360 degress is entirely absent and it looks that the guiding consideration has been the year of 366 days and therefore, it looks, the space division has been fixed upon just to suit this number 356.

- (27) The sun completes ten spaces within a solar day (of 30 Muhūrtas); accordingly it takes him 366 days to cover 3660 spaces and to return to his old position. He completes 915 spaces in his course, from a solstice point to an equinoctial point and in the same way, further on (3660 : 4 = 915). In one solar month, he covers therefore 305 spaces ($3660 \div 12 = 305$). The course of the ecliptic runs through 28 constellations amongst whom the spaces (3660) are distributed by four standards. First standard (see 'D' on p 112) exclusively covers the constellation Abhijit to whom 42 spaces only are allotted. The second (see 'A' on p. 112) is a regular standard allotted to 15 constellations, each of which occupies 134 spaces (which the moon covers in a solar day) of the ecliptic. The third is an inferior standard (see 'B' on p. 112) assigned to six constellations, each of which occupies 67 spaces and the fourth standard is superior standard (see 'C' on p. 112) and it embraces the remaining six constellations measuring 201 spaces. The names of respective constellations and their spaces can be looked up in the table I on pp. 162-163.
- (28) The moon traverses in one (solar) day (of 30 muhūrtas) 134 spaces which means that sidereal month consists of $27\frac{42}{134}$ days (3660 \div 134 = $27\frac{42}{134}$) This is in obvious contrast to the sidereal month of 27 days stated by Kautilya (Arthaśāstra Ch. II, 20, 38) " सत्रविश्वतिनेश्वमासः।" "The sidereal month is of 27 days"). It looks that the author has left out odd figures for a round number. Supposing that he takes the system of 27 constellations and omits Abhijit with its 42 spaces, giving to his ecliptic only 3618 spaces (366) 42=3618 spaces), distributing 134 spaces to each constellation (134 × 27 = 3618), his other data will not work out. From one lunation to the other, the moon covers 29½ days according to him; while according to him it takes only 27 days for the moon to complete the circle for herself. The extra distance represented by $2\frac{1}{3}$ days ($29\frac{1}{3}-27$) i. e. by $2\frac{1}{3} \times 134$ spaces, i.e.

by 335 space, is the distance that the sun covers between the two lunations in 291 days. With that speed he will take only 3186 days to complete the whole circle (3618 spaces) while actually he ought to take, according to him 366 days. This small discussion will point out the advisability of taking up the Jain data unhesitatingly with its system of 28 constellations, the constellation Abhijit being included. The Jain data gives the period of lunation to be $29\frac{3}{62}$ days; deducting from it its sidereal period of moon of 27_{134}^{42} days, we get a period of $\frac{2150}{54}$ days which the moon should traverse to complete the lunation. Multiplied by 134 spaces that the moon travels a day, we get the total amount of spaces which the sun really covers in 2932 days; and in that way, in 366 days, he covers exactly 3660 spaces. It must he noted that the Achipit constellation is included in the system of 366 days and 3660 spaces and it is indispensable, and that the text of Kautilya cannot be reconciled with any other prevalent system to-day excepting the Jain one. We shall be therefore following a perfectly right course in applying the Jain data (which are in consonance with those in Arthasastra) for a Vedic calendar because of their being in harmony with Arthasastia of Vedic leaning.

(29) A—The 15 constellations each of which occupies 134 spaces of the ecliptic are:—

Aśvini, Kṛttikā, Mṛgaśirṣa, Puṣya, Maghā, PūrvāPhālguṇi, Hasta, Citrā, Anurādhā, Mūla, Pūrvāṣāḍhā, Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhā, PūrvāBhādraṇadā, and Revati-each of 134 spaces.

- B—The 6 constellations each of which occupies 67 spaces are:—Bharaṇī, Ārdrā, Ārleṣā, Svātī, Jyeṣṭhā and Satabhiṣā-each of 67 spaces.
- C—The 6 constellations each of which occupies 201 spaces are:— Rohiņi, PunarVasu, UttarāPhālguņi, Višākhā, Uttārāṣāḍhā and UttarāBhādarpadā.—each of 201 spaces.
 - D-The Abhijit constellation occupies 42 spaces.
- (30) <u>Fixed Points:</u>— [Vide Tables III and IV (on pp. 169-172)] All constellations together make up an ecliptic of 3660 spaces. The points of equinoxes are stated to be as under (they are fixed points):—

Autumnal Equinox:— When the sun completes 23 spaces of the constellation Svati (out of its 67 spaces).

Vernal Equinox: - When the sun completes 69 spaces of the constellation Asvini (out of its 134 spaces).

The solstice points are removed from these two equinoctial points exactly by 915 spaces (a quadrant) and accordingly they are as follows:—

The Summer Solstice: -- When the sun completes 40 spaces of constellation Pusys (out of its 134 spaces).

The Winter Solstice:— When the sun completes all the 201 spaces of constellation Uttarāsādhā, at its ending moment and when the first space of constellation Abhijit begins.

The first year of the cycle (Yuga) begins when the sun enters the 47th space of constellation Pusya and when the moon enters the first space of constellation Abhijit early morning at a particular moment (morning of the 1st day of the dark fortnight of the month Śrāvaṇa). The position of the moon (during the cycle) keeps changing thereafter at every equinoctial and solstice point while that of the sun repeats itself mathematically.

(31) <u>Seasons</u>:— [Vide Tables III and IV (on pp. 169-172)] The rainy season begins with the summer solstice (Dakṣiṇāyana), and the two solar months herald each succeeding season. Thus the winter solstice marks the advent of the season Śiśira. The Autumnal equinox occurs in the midst of Śarad season and the Vernal equinox comes in the midst of season Vasanta.

The course of ages did not harmonize with these periods of year and the seasons and we notice the tendency (of later writers) to modify the earlier statements or to put a new interpretation or a new nomenclature on the original text on the part of some of the Jain commentators. It can be noticed in their observations on the scriptural texts we named before.

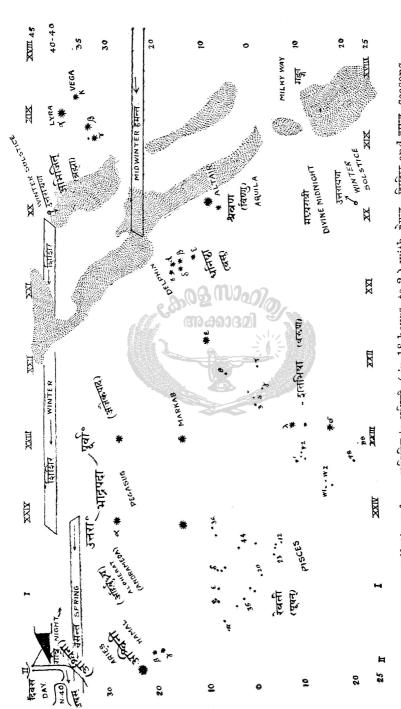
The accompanying quotations (with notes thereon on pp. 154-161) relating to the old Jain calendar will prove to be of great interest and the tabular form (on pp. 162-172) will elucidate the course of sun through the constellations and in various months.

^{3 [} Annals, B. O. R. I.]

- (32) Regent Gods:— Next in importance are the regent gods of these constellations. They are of great importance for our comprehension of the nature of the Vedic conceptions of gods. The names of the regents are nearly uniform in the Jain and in the Brahmanic texts. They stand on a common ground which is a great point as to the essential unity between them.
- (33) Re: Tables:— The way to find out the position of moon at the moment of solstice or of equinox is shown at the end of the space table 1 (pp. 162-165).

Whether the Rāśis (signs-stellar) were known at all to the Vedic poets, or known in the nomenclature that is in vogue to-day cannot be settled now. It will be seen from the table that three constellations which encompass the stars in the sign Scorpic-Vrścika-can be never missed by any observer of heaven. We therefore give the names of the (stellar) signs also in the tables that we give.

- (35) In table II (pp. 166-168) we try to give the modern equivalents, in the current astronomic terminology to the stars of the 28 constellations with the names of their principal stars and some of their marked features and here we are much indebted to Pillai and Kaye. The shape and color of some stars of most of these constellations is given from the Jain texts and here too, we have to acknowledge our indebtedness to them. There is a good deal of variance in the number of constituent stars of some constellations. We try to give the variants although, it has to be noted that the discrepancies in these respects are a matter of individual observations and they make no material difference. (Vide table II).
- (36) In the unequal spaces of constellations and in the order of enumeration we strictly follow the Jain texts as also in the data with respect to the ecliptic to the fractional length of solar days, lunar digits, lunations, sidereal year, the cycle (Yuga), and with respect to the measure of course of sun and moon amongst the 28 constellations. (Vide table I).
- (37) Equal space-Ecliptic: Non-Jain: (Vide tables I and IV; I and III).



Vedic Gods-by H. A. Shah, No. 8. Shows constellations from अमिजित to अभिनी (in 18 hours to 2) with हेमन्त, शिशिर and बसन्त seasons. Shows the constellations of the Divine Night and daybreak in Asvini.

Vedic Gods

There is a possibility of another type of space division of the total of 3660 of the ecliptic. That system is not mentioned by the Jain texts but still, the writer may make a note about it. It would seem to allot 42 spaces to Abhijit but then it would equally distribute the remaining 3618 spaces between the remaining 27 constellations, allotting 134 spaces to each one of them. In spite of this distribution, this system will have the same solstice and equinoctial points but in several other intermediate totals it would vary a little from the list we have given. The possible currency of such a method of counting with non-Jains has not to be lost sight of when we consider the constellations coupled with Vedic festival tithis. Since there is no deviation of any material character, we simply mention the same in the tables we give.

(38) These tables with star maps will be of great help in mapping out the constellations by actual observations-a much desired practice which has been lost since not only by centuries but even further. (It has been noted by Alberuni that the Hindu astronomers of his day cannot point out the constellations if asked to do so! What a sad picture when we contemplate that the Vedic gods are of stellar nature.) The tables will also help in the calculations of the postition of moon stated in the observance of several auspicious days, or of worship of several gods and goddesses. There, it will have to be ascertained in advance, if any stated day represents either lunar digits of a luni-solar month or the number of solar days in one particular solar month or if it is a calculation of civil day coupled with the former or the latter or of equal or unequal space division. It is generally the first year of the cycle (Yuga) that is taken by convention. Herein, the starting point, in the first day of the dark half of Srāvana will hold good as also the space divisions. The only other point that remains to be stated is that we shall have to see if, in the nomenclature, the month and fortnight are not the later

¹ See Kaye "Astronomical Observatories of Jai Sinha," p. 77 Note 1. Alberuni [A. D. 973-1048] writes (II, 83):—

[&]quot;The Hindus are very little informed regarding the fixed stars. I never came across any one of them who knew the single stars of the lunar stations from eyesight, and was able to point them out to me with his fingers."

modified ones in order to harmonize them with the changes that have come upon later on (through the fact of the precession of equinoxes), or that, in equating the old names with the modern ones, if the lunar digit has not interchanged for the solar day and vice versa. We now ask the reader to revert to the tables and to a citation of some of the important portions of the Jain texts, given in the appendix before he begins to read other sections.

(39) As regards constaliations on a full most night at full-moon:—Some of the Jain texts observe that in the specified three months the constellations are different from that we would naturally understand from the name of the month. Thus on a particular full moon night, moon will be with Mūla, in the (luni-solar) month Jyeṣṭha, with Dhaniṣṭhā in the month Śrāvaṇa, and with Ārdrā in the month Mārgasīrṣa. In the rest of the months, moon will be approximately with the constellations implied by the names of the months. To-day, however, it is a matter of renewed observations. (cf. 'Jain Text'-'J' on pp. 158 and note thereon).

Jain Text and Notes thereon: We cite (in appendix) some of the portions of the Jain texts which gave us the data. Since the Kālalokaprakāša text runs in easy Sanskrit verses, preserving the original material, in citing texts we prefer it to other works for the purposes of this article. Those who would like to know more of the old calendar and its system must gather for themselves from all the texts mentioned before (in para 23).

- (40) Before we resume the main work-to continue (from section I) the thread of our investigations to find out the basic conceptions of Vedic gods,—it will be worth while to take stock of the ground that we have covered already.
- (1) From the "Meghadūta," we saw that the system of the months we should keep before us are of Pūrnimānta type. We found it to be the case in the calendars of the Arthasastra and of the Jain texts.
- (2) From the "Arthasastra," we saw that the Yuga system had its solstice and equinoctial points expressed in terms of the solar months and further implied by seasons, coupled with

¹ Quotation from Jain Texts with Notes thereon and Tables I-IV, will be found at the end of this article as Appendix pp. 154 ff.

end of the year in a bright fortnight. This system ran in close parallel to the one of the Jain calendar and that the time division of Kautilya with reference to the course of moon, though varied slightly, yet materially tallied with the Jain system in its ways and methods.

- (3) We found in the Jain calendar the exact position of the sun with reference to the two solstice and two equinoctial points and we got two complete systems of old division of ecliptic with reference to constellations and solar months.
- (4) We then get at the Zodiacal constellations and their regent gods.
- (41) Now we take a step further and see if some of the constellations and phenomena (that arose by course of sun traversing the same) enable us to understand and appreciate the Vedic singers better than before. It will be found that in one or another form, these constellations and the delineation of old equinoxes and solstices have been preserved for us; the writer has found that the drama of Vikramorvašiya of Kālidāsa is such a work. The Sākuntala and Raghuvamsa too serve the same purpose. So too, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana. They are, in themselves relatively later growths consistent with the earlier Vedic one forming one unit as it were by continuity; but all of them enable us a better approach to the prime source-the Vedas. With these brief notices here, the writer passes on now to the consideration of the Vedic gods and goddesses. The writer has put on paper some of his researches with reference to the Dramas of Kālidāsa in his article. 1

SECTION-III: VERNAL EQUINOX: ASVINS and USAS:

(42) Goddess Usas and the Aśvins:— We now refer to the goddess Usas, "the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry." (Mac. p. 46). She is the goddess of Dawn. "She removes the black robe of night (I, 113, 14,)" (Mac. p. 47). In her ordinary aspect, she heralds the physical day—but it is then the day of the mortals. There is a day of the immortals which too is ushered in by the Usas. The conception of the northern passage of sun

The Astronomical Data in the Dramas of Kālīdāsa." It will be published in the A. B. I., later on. He hopes to reduce other researches to writing in course of time. They are in progress.

(north of equator) connoting such a day of gods and his southern course their night is a familiar conception in the old literature. We read in the SūryaSiddhānta I. 13 and XII. 45 that from Aries upto Libra, it is the region of the gods, the rest being that of Asuras.

" मासैर्द्वादशभिर्वर्षं दिव्यं तदहरूच्यते " ॥ १३ ॥
"मेषानां देवभागस्थे देवानां याति दर्शनम् ॥
असुराणां तुळादौ तु सूर्यस्तद्भागसंचरः " ४५ ॥

In the PañcaSiddhāntikā, (G. Thibaut's translation, p. 86 (see note to para 4 and quotations from this text) Ch. XIII, 27, we read:—

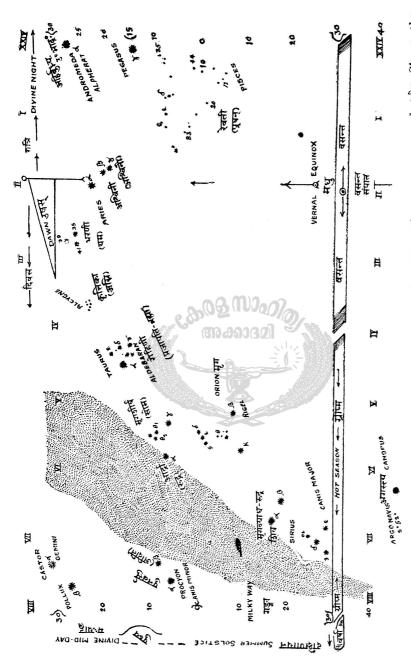
"For those who dwell on the back of Meru the sun once risen remains visible for six months, while he moves in the six signs beginning with Aries; for the Asuras he is visible as long as he is in the latter (half of the ecliptic)". Manuo I, 67 says that the (human) year is a night and day of the gods, the northern passage being day, the southern being night."

" दैवे राज्यहनी वर्षे प्रविभागस्तयोः पुनः ! अहस्तत्रोदगयनं रात्रिः स्याद्दक्षिणायनम् "॥

The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (III, 9, 22) "एकं वा एतद्देवानामहः यन्संवत्सरः" ॥ says that the one day of gods is the Samvatsara (Tilak, pp. 68-70). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (II, 1, 3). prefers to take three seasons Vasanta, Griṣma and Varṣā to connote the northern passage of the sun and the rest of the three seasons to connote his southern course, the former associated with the gods and the latter with the Pitṛs " वसंतो शिष्मो वर्षाः । ते देवा ऋतवः शरद्धेमंतः शिश्वरस्ते िपतरो.....स (सूर्यः) यत्रोदगावर्तते । देवेषु तार्हे भवति यत्र व दक्षणावर्तते । पतृषु तार्हे भवति " ॥

(Satapatha Br. II, 13) (Dixit. p. 34.)

(43) For the gods thus as in human affairs, there is an intervening period between night and day with its goddess, when that long night of the gods terminates. That leads us to the equinoctial points (with northern course of sun on equator), to the mid-point of the two solstices, since the year commences with a solstice point. We saw that the equinoctial points are in the constellations Asvini



No. 5. Shows constellations from उत्तरा भाद्रपदा to पुष्प (in hours 24 to 8) with seasons बसन्त and श्रीष्म. Shows the Vedic Gods--by H. A. Shah, Divine Day with the Usas and Asvins with Hg: the Livine Midday in the solstice point. Shows stars Sirius (Rudra) with the Ganges and Canopus (अमस्य).

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and Svāti and accordingly their regent gods have their rightful place with the goddess Usas in one form or another. We first dwell upon the Vernal Equinox, upon the two Asvins who preside over this equinoctial constellation of Asvini, the half of which (vide tables III and IV / goes over the divine night (cf. "She removes the black robe of night,") and the other half over the divine day. "Yāska quotes a passage stating that 'one (of the two Asvins) is called the son of night, the other the son of Dawn' [Nir. 12, 2.]. (Mac. p. 49). RV. cf. VII 16, 1. "The time of their appearance is often said to be the early dawn, when darkness still stands among the ruddy cows (X. 61, 4) and they yoke their car to descend to earth and receive the offerings of worshippers (I, 22, 2, etc.) Usas awakes them (VIII, 9, 17). They follow after Usas in their car, (VIII, 5, 2). At the yoking of their car Usas is born (X, 39, 12.)" Mac. p. 50). What a splendid picture of the occurrence of Vernal Equinox when the nature shakes off its slumber-when it is rejuvenated!

"Usas is borne on a car which is shining (VII, 78, 1), brilliant (I, 23, 7)"..." She is drawn by steeds which are ruddy (VII, 75, 6)"..." She is also described as being drawn by ruddy kine or bulls ('go': I, 92, 2; I, 124, 11; V, 80, 3)-" Mac. p. 47. "Both the horses and the cows probably represent the ruddy rays of the morning light."-Mac. p. 47. "Her radiant beams appear like herds of cattle (IV, 52, 2-4)"..." She opens the doors of darkness as the cows their stall '(I, 92, 4.)" Mac. p. 47. "The gods are often described as 'waking with Usas (I, 14, 9 etc.)' Mac. p. 47. The divine day has commenced.

(44) It will be evident that the twins gods Asvins, the regents of the constellation Asvini at the equinoctial point, are thought of by the Vedic poets in connection with the termination of the divine night and also in connection with the commencement of the divine day. This is the divine character of the Usas which brings her

¹ The imagary after the cowstalls and after herds of cattle seems to have been furnished by the village life of India where cattle set out (cows after being milked early) of the village at daybreak for grazing. They return at dusk to their homes when the cows are milked again. Both the period of time of their outgoing and incoming, particularly the latter, is considered very auspicious time of "nix n:", the time of Dawn and Dusk, when clouds of dust rise out of the movement of the cows.

together with the Asvins. It is not a phenomena of the northern or of the polar regions but a phenomena of return of Spring. In that way we see that the "Dawn herself is born of Night" (I. 123, 9) "Mac. p. 12. "...She removes the black robe of Night (I. 113, 14)" Mac. p. 47.

SECT ON-IV: From VERNAL to the AUTUMNAL EQUINOX; SEVERAL GODS and GODDESSES.

(45) Autumnat Equinox:— It will be seen that the divine daybreak at the Vernal equinox explains the association of Usas with the twin gods Asvins. At that time, nature herself has worked a change towards her own rejuvenation; there is little of human efforts or activities that counts then.

It is however different at the approach of the Autumnal equinox. The progress of the seasons, after the Vernal one, particularly from about the Summer solstice (rains) upto the Autumnal equinox is associated with human efforts in the form of agricultural operations and of a subsequent good harvest. Therein several natural forces are supposed to participate, advancing or aiding the human efforts or impeding their course. During the rainy season the earth gets flooded and the religious and other regulated activities (which proceed from the correct apprehension of the measurement of time made through Sanku and shadow) fall into abeyance. Days and nights are clouded and therefore the sunlight, the stellar movements, and the lunar progress generally get out of observation. These are the "impediments" of those days: while the beneficent influences are in the form of a good harvest and the resusciation of the vegetation on account of the profuse supply of water from sky. The Vedic songs seem to be an attempt to trace the forces that range behind these developments that are at work and which forces are behind the human attempts in reality; the songs reflect the glory of the divine grace that is instrumental in helping them and also in overpowering the manifold impediments that they are subject to,-and what are human efforts without these divine graces? The utmost tribute that is paid to these gods is their celebration and the humble offerings (of the season) accompanied with their recognition and emulation, with prayers and devotion. It is natural that the poets-the Vedic seers-try to exhaust the enumeration of

all these forces. It is therefore impossible for them to detach or isolate any one agency from the rest that are at work. The principal god of this period is Indra and the main obstructive force is the serpent Ahi or Vrtra. The serpentine constellation (Hydra Ahi: Vrtra) near summer solstice ends just at the Autumnal equinox covering a fourth part of the Zodiac from Aslesa and of the southern sky near it from Pusya upto Svāti. Accordingly, most of the regent gods of these intervening constellations (Pusya to Svāti-Brhaspati to Vāyu) 1 come into the fray and help Indra one way or another. There are other stars like Sirius and Canopus and star-groups like Ursa Majoris-the Saptarsis which are also involved in this period; they too are brought in, in one form or another. From their occurrence as well as from their heliacal rise, the northern constellation Saptarsi (Great Bear-Ursa Majoris) helps Indra as also the two southern stars Sirius Rudra-Siva (A-Canis Majoris S. 16°34') and the star Canopus (A-Argo Navis S. 52°39') known as Agastya. If we leave out these stars and constellations associated with the seasons, associated with the resusciation of nature and fruition of agriculture, we will not be able to understand the Vedic songs. There are many regent gods of constellations from the Summer solstice onwards. Brhaspati helps Indra. Then the Pitrs-the Saptarsis-combine in the image of Brhaspati and they take an active part. So does Aryaman; so do Savitr, Twastr, Sarasvatī and gods Vāyu-who are also called the Maruts and the Mātariśvan. The last one forms a terminus to the Serpentine demon Hydra. They are spoken generally in plural. They are of greater importance than most of the others enumerated since their occurrence is associated with harvest and with the Autumnal equinox; and they form a terminus to the heliacal rise of the Saptarsi also. The star Svāti, being in the north, rises earlier by about an hour just after the Hasta and earlier than the Citra constellations which are in south and therefore the scope of Maruts gets more extended to the regions of Hasta and Citra. The physical characteristics of Vayu-wind-

¹ This will explain the name "Guruvāyur" god of Malabar in South India at a celebrated place of pilgrimage and furthur, of the beneficent agency that is celebrated through this god.

^{4 [} Annals, B. O. R. I.]

extend the scope even during the rainy season and therefore, of all the gods, they are the most associated with Indra. Since Agastya rises in autumn at different places on different days (being in the south) it also gets associated with the Autumnal equinox as it were, marking its complete rise through the association of early rising of the star Svātī. It is through the Agastya, that Brhaspati Viṣṇu and Agni enter into the fray against the serpent Vṛṭra—the Hydra-to help and to associate with Indra. Soma too gets in, a being of important consideration, at the Autumnal equinox at Svātī. The following pages will unfold what is told herein.

- (46) It is impossible therefore to keep a numerical sequence or to concentrate exclusively upon the characteristics of one single god in the subsequent paras without taking into account those of the others. It is impossible to proceed with the basic conception of the gods that we now describe, in the detached manner we could describe that of Varuna, or of Mitra, or of the Usas and the Asvins. Varuna and Mitra are indispensable throughout the year where Light and Time are involved; therefore they find a place along with the one or the other god of this period particularly at the Autumnal equinox. After these preliminary observations, we proceed with further examination or explanation of the distinctive features of these gods, as best and as short as it can be possible.
- (47) Vāyu This god is the regent of the Svāti constellation (A-Boōtes-Arcturus) at the Autumnal equinox as we saw from the calendar. "Vāta is spoken of as producing ruddy lights (X, 168, 1) and of making the Dawns shine (I, 134, 3)" Mac. p. 83. It is the evening of the Gods, as Aśvins marked their daybreak.
- (48) The Svāti star is N. 19°/42' while Hasta (Corvus) stars are S. 16° to S. 24° and the Citrā star is S. 10°/38'. Vide table II for the modern equivalents. The phenomenon on the Indian horizon (it is not polar) is that the Svāti and Citrā stars make their appearance in the East soon after the Hasta group completes

¹ See illustration maps.

its rise. Thus the very early advent of Svāti is noted as its swift course. It is not unusual to call stars as 'birds' as we noticed before in the section on the God Varuna Hence Svati at times is depicted as a swift bird-swifter than any of its prototype. Accordingly, it earns the name of the swiftest bird which is the reputed Eagle. "Vayu is fond of Soma, to which he is invited to come with his teams and the first draught of which he obtains as his share (also in company with Indra, I, 135, 4), for he is the swiftest of the gods (SB. XIII, 1, 2-7, etc.)" - Mac. p. 82. "Vayu reached the goal first and Indra second in a race which the gods ran for the first draught of Soma (AB. II, 25) - Mac. p. 82. These statements point to early rise of Svāti over that of others. Unlike the Asvins, they are associated with Indra as Maruts. They strike Vrtra (Hydra-vide Vrtra), the serpentine demon Ahi (Mac. p. 152)], assisted by Indra (I, 23, 9) - Mac. p. 81;" and "with them, Indra gains light (VIII, 65, 4) and finds the cows (1, 6, 5)" - Mac. pp. 80 and 81. "And the Maruts sang a song and pressed Soma, for Indra when he slew the dragon (V, 29, 2; V 30, 6) " - Mac. p. 80. They are keepers of cowstalls. "Indra produced cows for Trita (Gnomon-vide Trita) from the dragon and delivered the cow-stalls to Dadhyanc and Mātariśvan (X, 48, 2)" - Mac. p. 71. The cows are light (vide cows) and at the Autumnal equinox, the cowstalls refer to

The present writer is however confident as to the truth of the generalities that he is able to present from his personal observations and from the data he is fortunate enough to collect and interpret from the literary classics and from the reliable authors. Even then, it is difficult for him to decide if the classical authorities adopted Kashmir (N. 34° 2') as their standard for their reference to the heliacal rise and setting of stars—such as Agastya—Canopus—or that they stuck to Ujjain, (N. 24°-Kaye) the standard Indian meridian, for this purpose. Kautilya's measure for the longest day of year applies to the latitude of Kashmir which is therefore remarkable for our considerations.

Owing to differences in magnitudes of these stars, to the variations in atmosphere at this period of the year, at various places in India, owing to the wide range of Indian latitute (N. 90 to N. 350) as also to diversities in methods of computations of rise of stars, while there is no good reliable guide in these respects for calculating either heliacal rising or heliacal setting, and last but not the least, owing to the limited knowledge of the mathematical phase of astronomy on the part of the present writer,—for all these reasons combined-it is impossible to be exact in details or to be precise in particulars. That task devolves on more capable shoulders.

(period of or portion of) Bootes-group of stars which are near the sixth star (Vasistha) of Saptarsi. The Dadhyañc is the Asvini constellation-since 'to Dadhyañc the Asvins gave the head of a horse (I, 117, 22)" (Mac. p. 141). Soma is light and its transformations (vide Soma). The connection of Agni with this god explains the myth of the eagle bringing fire (vide Agni). The terrestial Agni is lighted up at the daily dawn and at the dusk of the Autumnal equinox which is another celestial form of Agni (vide Agni). Svāti-the Maruts-are thus associated with Vrtra, Indra, Trita, Cows, Dadhyañc, Soma, Agni and Saptarsis.

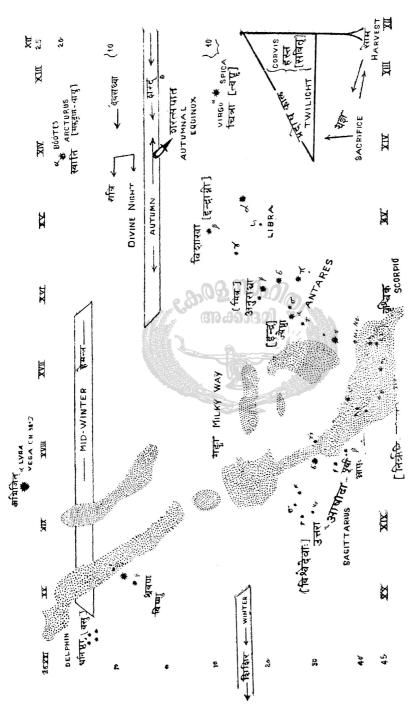
- (49) The golden colour of the star Svāti (Arcturus) imparts a good deal to this imagery. The Maruts are "golden, of sunlike brightness, like blazing fires, of ruddy aspects (VI, 66, 2; VII, 59, 11; VIII, 7, 7)" Mac. p. 78. Their mantles, ornaments, helmets, cars, wheels of their cars, are all golden; their coursers are all ruddy, tawny and gollen footed-Mac. p. 79. This ruddy nature imparts to them as Mātariśvan much of the attributes of gold or fire: but really Mātariśvan is not Agni. As a star, it does partake of the nature of Agni (light)-but "when as Mātariśvan he was fashioned in his mother (amimīta Mātari: cp. I, 141, 5) he became the swift flight of wind (III, 29, 11)" Mac. p. 71. He is therefore a Wind god, regent of Svāti.
- (50) Trita: Soma: "Indra and Trita in three or four passages perform the same feat, that of slaying a demon. " ... " Trita is associated with the Maruts in the thunderstorm. -- Moreover he finds Agni, kindles Agni in heaven, and takes up his abode in human dwellings, clearly as a form of Agni. His abode is remote and hidden, and Soma is there." "In the Avesta he is once (Yasna IX, 10) described as the third man who prepared Hama (Soma) for the corporeal world (Athwya-Aptya being the second) and once (Vend. XX, 2) as the first healer who received from the Ahura Mazda ten thousaud healing plants which grow round the white Haoma, the tree of immortality." -Mac. p. 68. "Trita cherishes (him who is like) Varuna in the ocean (IX, 95, 4)" -Mac. p, 68. "Soma occupies the secret place near the two pressing ston's of Trita (IX, 102, 2) and is besought to bring wealth in a stream on the sides (Presthesu) of Trita-(IX, 102, 3). "Soma caused the sun along with the sisters to shine on the summit (sīnu)

of Trita (IX, 37, 4)" -Mac. p. 67/68. Such are the distinctive features of Trita.

- (51) Who is this Trita? Connected with Varuna, with two stones of Trita, and the abode in human dwellings suggest to us the Sanku the Gnomon with its two side quadrants, with its central portion pointed to Varuna (the Ahuramazda). Naturally, as a means to the measurement of time he is, associated with the Maruts (the regent god of Svāti) at the Autumnal Equinox and with Indra in the Vrtra-fight. Hence, what shines on his summit is the Light which alights there, for its conversion into Time (at Autumnal Equipox) and which is here described as "Soma" on the summit. The idea of fire being brought out of sky or the idea of Agni produced from rock, by the bird is very well known in the Matarisvan myth. - (Mac. pp. 71-72). The summit known as 'Sanu' of the gnomon and the association of the Maruts would in themselves suggest the Autumnal equinox when the fire is lighted up. (Vide Agni). "Soma is purified by Trita" (IX, 34, 4)-Mac. p. 67, seems to refer to the (calendar or) Time checked at the Autumnal equinox, when the measurement of Time is checked by the Light (Prabhā-' Palabhā') that is cast on the gnomon on the mid-day of the day of the Autumnal equinox. We may read again the description in para 50.
- (52) "...In one passage, in the middle of a Varuna hymn, Trita is described as one in whom wisdom is centered, as the nave in the wheel, (VIII, 41, 6)"-Mac. p. 68. This seems to refer to the manifold beneficent activities which arise out of the Time measured out of the gnomon. (The conception of Manu is a parallel case in this respect). The plight of Trita in a well (Mac. p. 67) seems to be a picture of the gnomon in the rainy season when the earth gets flooded with water and the gnomon gets surrounded by water, rescued by Brhaspati (Mac. p. 67) (in Śarad) when 'the seven rays' (=Saptarṣi-) rise heliacally in Autumn.
- (53) <u>Sona:</u>— What is Soma? It will be easy to follow the basic conception of this god if we refer to his *Vedic* colour.

¹ In para 50/51, under "Trita" we read that the 'Haoma' is white in Avesta. If redness and whiteness mean little difference with reference to Light, then Vedic Soma would secondarily be the regent god of moon, of Light and Time in the Vedic Luni-solar calendar.

Soma is "brown, (babhru) or ruddy (aruna), but most frequently as tawny (hari). Thus Soma is a branch of a ruddy tree (X, 94, 3), it is a ruddy milked shoot (VI, 98.1) etc. "(Mac. p. 105). the part of Soma plant which is pressed is called Amsu (IX, 67, 28)-Mac. p. 104. So far the colour of Soma is concerned there is little doubt that the colour is that of Light. He is an embodiment of Light and in that way the following narration becomes significant. He caused the Sun to shine (IX, 28, 5; IX, 37, 4); caused the lights of the sky to shine (IX, 85, 9) and produced the sun in the waters (IX, 42, 1). He caused the sun to rise, impelled it, obtained it and bestowed it, and caused the Dawns to shine." (Mac. pp. 109-110). "He makes his worshippers participate in the sun (IX, 4, 5) and finds light for them (IX, 35, 1): He found the light (IX, 59, 4) and wins light and heaven (IX, 3, 2)"..." placing light in the sun (VI, 44, 23-24; VI, 47, 3-4)"-Mac. p. 110. elements of the Dawns are two: its Time of occurrence (Equinoxes and the daily grandeur of light). The god Soma who makes Usas shine therefore constitutes "Soma" as the god of Light, the light which pervades in the stars too and in the universe. But at times, the light gets transformed when it reaches the terrestial world and one such transformation (on Sanku) is "Time": and Soma becomes secondarily, a god of both Light and Tim . In that way, we can understand the following passages. "The term Madhu, which in connection with the Asvins means 'honey' or 'mead' (very suggestive of the Vernal season and of the bees which are then active), comes to be applied, in the general sense of 'sweet draught' not only to milk (payas) and ghee (ghrta), but especially to the Soma juice (IV, 27, 5, VIII, 69, 6): Mythologically Madhu is the equivalent of Soma when the latter means the celestial Ambrosia (Amrta): Conversely, Amrta is frequently used as an equivalent of ordinary Soma (V, 2, 3; VI, 37, 3 etc.; VS. VI, 34; SB. IX. 5, 1, 8). King Soma when pressed is Amrta (VS. XIX, 72). Here we may remember the two pressing stones of Trita, the two quadrants on the sides of Sanku. Another expression is 'Somyam Madhu.' 'Soma Mead' (IV, 26, 5; VI, 20, 3)" -Mac. p. 105. The connection with Asvins at the Vernal Equinox is expressed through Madhu while with Vayu it is told that Soma. the purified draught is offered exclusively to Vayu and Indra-



No. 7. Shows constellations from et 1991 to uran (in hours 12 to 21) with seasons शरद, हमन and शिशर. Shows Divine Evening the first twilight, with शरसेपान and प्रत्ये, the harvest and Soma, sacrifices and celebrations of this period. Shows constellations of Divine Night.

Vedic Gods-by H. A. Shah.

- (Mac. p. 106). Thus Soma is connected with the two equinoctial points,—"the epithet Sucipa 'drinking clear (Soma)' being distinctive of Vāyu (cf. Mac. p. 82)."—Mac. p. 106. The connection of Soma with Vāyu makes it pre-eminently a god of the Autumnal equinox, Vāyu being regent god(s) of Svāti.
- (54) It looks as if there are other forms of Soma. "Soma clothes himself in waters, that streams of water flow after him, when he desires to clothe himself in cows (in mitk-IX, 2, 3-4)"—Mac. p. 106. It will be worth investigation how this transformation is alluded to in a variety of ways in the Vedic poetry. According to RV. VII, 47, 3 and VII, 49, 2-4, Apah are brilliant. The waters seem to be regarded as a form of light and if that he really so, Varuna, who is the lord of Light, can well be said to be the lord of Waters or the 'Lord of ocean' (Mac. p. 25). Cf. "Varuna clothes himself in the waters. (IX, 90, 2; cp. VIII 69, 11-12.)"—Mac. p. 25. We may as well see the truth of Trita being styled "Aptya," because of the connection of Sanku (gnomon) Trita with Light (Apah=waters=Light).
- (55) In the above passages, it is significant that Soma desires to clothe himself in cows. It seems that "cow" is an expression which signifies light wherever the cows are ruddy or shining or in heavens. The cowstalls then would suggest beams or flood of light as we would notice in the Dawns or in the myriads of stars (of Bootes group).
- (56) The Soma drink which makes the gods immortal and which is the Amrta seems to be nothing but a figurative expression for the immortality where the Light and Time continue and which is the case with the gods-the stars-who are an embodiment of these elements. The life that the mortals get, it seems, is made up of restricted Light and Time and of what trickles down through the spaces from sky in the form of water, rain-drops and the ultimate juice that is created in the vegetable world and which fills the udders of the cows. The convention for a fixed standard of time for human or religious affairs seems to have selected the time of the Autumnal equinox when the living world enjoys once again the mercy of this god-the mercy of light and "water" in its abundance, at harvest time after a good rainy season, and at

the end of the Hydra constellation. Soma is therefore truly called "the milk (pīyūṣa) of heaven (IX, 51, 2 etc.), is purified in heaven (IX 83, 2; IX 86, 22, etc.). He flows with his streams to the dear places of heaven (IX 12, 8),he occupies heaven (IX 85, 9), he is in heaven (SB. III, 4, 3, 13) or is lord of heaven (IX 86, 11-13). "-Mac. p. 111.

(57) Apah: The nature of Apah being wholly or partly a nature of Soma-Light-various other references in connection with Apah can be easily followed. It is said that "they abide where the gods are and the seat of Mitra and Varuna is (X, 30, 1)....They are beside the sun and the sun is with them (I, 23, 17)" -Mac. p. 85. This is evidently a reference to Sanku, to light on it and to the time of Autumnal equinox. The gods are conceived as stars in heaven which is the ocean. ["The atmosphere is often called a sea (samudra) as the abode of the celestial waters...' -Mac. p. 10)] the lord of all being Varuna. The Apah " are the goddesses who follow the path of the gods (VII, 47, 3)"-Mac. p. 85. The idea seems to develop in the Apsarases, the divine (water) females; and along with the Soma, they are naturally associated with the Autumnal equinox: "The Apsarases of the sea are described as flowing to Soma (IX, 78, 3), with reference to the water that is mixed with the juice, "-Mac. p. 134. The chapter on Apah has to be read in connection with that on the Apsarases. Since Soma is preeminently placed with Vayu, the Apsarases are placed with Gandrureas who seem to be none else than the Stars (Böötes) at the Autumnal equinor: "In several passages Gundharva is closely connected with some form of celestial light. Thus he is brought into relation with the sun, 'the golden winged bird the messenger of Varuna' (X, 123, 6), with the sun bird (X, 177, 2), with the sun-steed (I, 163, 2), with Soma likened to the sun (IX, 85, 12)"-Mac. p. 136. The golden winged bird mentioned here is not sun but the golden star Svāti (Arcturus) at the Autumnal equinox; and therefrom (from one equinox), the opposite point of the Vernal equinox steps in, in the imagery of the steeds. We read that "Gandharva is sometimes connected with the waters. 'Gandharva in the waters' and the 'aqueous nymph' are alluded to as the parents of Yama and Yami (X, 10, 4) -Mac. p. 137. The Yama seems to

be also a conception of Gnomon (Sanku) with reference to the mortals in connection with Time when memory of the dead is resolved into Time-oblivion. "He is associated with the departed fa.h. re, particularly with the Angirases (Mac. p. 171)...His father is Vivasvat (X, 14, 5)''-Mac, p. 172...Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan are mentioned together as the names of the one being (I, 164, 46) "-Mac. p. 171. The Angirases are Saptarsis (vide Angirasa), the Vivasvat is the Pole star-Dhruva (vide Vivasvat): and their close association with Mātariśvan is evident since the gnomon at the Autumnal equinox is just what is herein referred to. The two dogs of Yam's seem to be the two side quadrants of the gnomon which give morning and evening time, the sister Yami being the light which alights on the Sanku itself at the Autumnal equinox as also on the side quadrants in that period. We will not dilate upon it. "Yama's foot-fetter (padbīša) is spoken of as parallel to the bond of Varuna (X, 97, 16)" - Mac. p. 172. The bonds of Varuna are the polar longitudes and latitudes. "In their dialogue, in the RV. (X, 10, 4) Yama and Yami call themselves children of Gandharva and the water nymph (Apyā yoṣā)" Mac. p. 172.

Thus the chapter of "waters"—Apah—leads us to a consideration of Soma, Light, Gandharvas, the Apsarases, the Yama and Yami because light is associated with the gnomon, Varuna and with Time and thus with the mortals.

(58) Apah too are connected with the Agni as we saw just before. It is expressive in more than one way. "As mothers they produce Agni" (X, 91, 6) -Mac. p. 85. As waters, it seems that they refer to (here producing) the heliacal rise of the star Agastya, which comes at the end of the rainy season in sign

¹ Cf. Raghu. IV, 21 "प्रसादोद्याद्माः कुम्भयोनेमहोजसः" Waters became clear on the (heliacal) rise of Canopus-born of Kumbha-of grert effulgence. Mallinātha comments:— "अगस्त्यः कुम्भसंभव इत्यमरः । अगस्त्योदये जलानि पसीदिन्ति इत्यागमः।" From Dowson's "Hindu Classical Dictionary" we learn under 'Agastya' that—"Agastya and Vasistha are said in Reveda to be the offspring of Mitra and Varuna, whose seed fell from them at the sight of Urvasi and the commentator Sāyana adds that Agastya was born in a water—jar ('Kumbha') as a "fish of great lusture," whence he was called 'Kalasisuta,' 'KumbhaSambhava' and 'Ghatodbhava'. From his parentage he was called 'Maitrāvāruņī' and Aurvaseya." (continued on next page)

^{5 |} Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Virgo. The more of it can be discussed when we refer to Agni and the Apāmnapāt god-the son of waters. Let us repeat that "sometimes at least the celestial waters were regarded as containing or identical with the heavenly Soma, the beverage of Indra"-Mac. p. 86. "The atmosphere is often called a sea (samudra) as the abode of the celestial waters." (Mac. p. 10). The "heavenly river Ganges" is a very familiar expression for the Milky Way (Via Lactea).

(59) Aduti: She is said to be the mother of the gods and accordingly her stellar nature is to be thought of first. "The

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From "Agastya in the Tamil Land," by K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, B. A. University of Madras-p. 2, we learn that:— "Agastya is known as 'Kalaśaja 'KumbhaSambhava'...(the pot-born), from the fact that he was born from the seed of Mitra received and preserved in a pot ('Kumbha'). The story runs that once upon a time both Mitra and Varuna had a sort of love contest in respect of the heavenly damsel Urvaśī and that they could not do anything more than depositing their fertile seed, one in a pot and other in the sea. In time, Agastya was born from the pot and Vasiṣtha, one of the reputed Saptarṣis (Zeta Ursa Majoris-Mizar) started his life from the sea."

The above quotations show how the story develops round the word 'Kumbha'.

It is apparent to the writer that the word 'Kumbha' is here misunderstood and so too the variants of that word. As in the 'Hasta' word (vide 'kari') which means hand as well as the trunk of an elephant, "Kumbha" is both 'the pot' as well as 'the forehead of an elephant.' We have to take here the latter sense of the word: meaning thereby, "the (heliacal) rise of the star Agastya when the constellation Hasta (Corvus) is not visible (in season Sarad-Autumn); when the sun covers those degrees wherein that portion of Hasta (Gamma, Epsilon and Alpha Corvus)-the forehead region of elephantine head-is heliacally set. Perhaps the same period should hold good for the heliacal rise of the star Mizar-Vasistha. Origin of both these stars is connected with Urvasi which is Celestial Equator and Equatorial shadow later on (cf. present writer's paper "Astronomical Data in the Darmas of Kālidāsa") which would point to the circumstance of completion of their heliacal rise at all places in India when the sun is approaching the celestial equator with the approach to the equinoctial star Svati which rises earlier with the Hasta constellation (vide paras 45 and 48).

It is to be noted that the star is styled a "fish" of great lustre. This way of calling the star a fish will help us in interpreting some of the "miracles" of the Gospels (Mt. XIV, 13-21: XV, 32-39) and other portions therein where the disciples are called (Mt. IV, 19-20) fishers and made fishers of Men as well as the Flood or the Deluge stories wherein the fish" (Canopus-Agastya) plays a prominent part. (continued on the next page)

gods are said to have been born from Aditi, the Waters, and Earth (X, 63, 2)"—Mac. p. 121. Their daily course would naturally associate them with the earth and water. She is bright and luminous (I, 136, 3)"—Mac. p. 120 and hence, her stellar nature is definite. "She is undely expanded" (V, 46, 6)—Mac. p. 120 which is therefore a description of the Milky Way—Via Lactes the Heavenly Ganges. Aditi is the mother of Mitra and Varuna "(VIII, 25, 3; X, 36, 3; X, 132, 6)"—Mac. p. 120. It looks that the Vedic conception of the prime cause of light and stars has passed on even beyond from the Varuna—the Pole Star, to Aditithe infinite cluster of the Stars. We can now easily understand the "Adityas." "In X, 5, 7, it is stated that the existent and non-existent were in the womb of Aditi, in the birth-place of Daksa."—Mac. p 46.

(60) Cw: We read that "the beams of Dawn are personified as cows, which draw her car (Mac. p. 47)"—Mac. p. 150. The Maruts, the regent god(s) of Svāti, are sons of cow: "the cow Prśnē (V, 52, 16) or simply a cow is their mother (VIII, 83, 1) and they bear the epithet "Gomātarah"—'having a cow for their mother (I, 85, 3; cp. VIII, 20, 8)"—Mac. p. 78. The opening of the cow—

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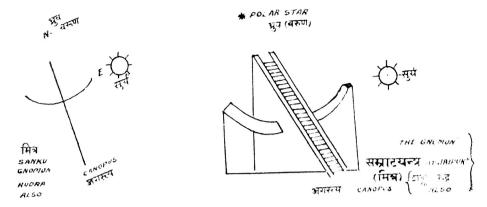
Because the fishes do not wink, the stars have been styled at times 'fishes' as may be seen from the lexicon of Amara, III, 218, " सुरमत्यावनिमित्ती।" To the same effect we read in the drama 'Vikramorvasiya of Kālidāsa after III, 17, " कि वा स्वर्गे समत्वम् । न वा उद्यते न वा पीयते। केवलमनिमित्तेयनेमीना विद्यास्थलने ॥". The gliding through of these 'fishes' in the heavenly expanse might have given rise to the idea of the heavens as a vast "Sea," the Pole Star Dhruva-Varuna being the suzerain, styled also as the Lord of the Sea." Close association and the nature of Mitra and Varuna (in north) has been noted already; and Canopus in the south may well get in the picture. The seed of Varuna (in the northern quarter) may well be associated with the birth of Vasistha in the "sea" in-North.

As noted before (in paras 45 and 48) the early appearance of the pearllike star Citra (Spica -Alpha Virgo) along with the rise of Hasta (Corvus) constellation may well have given rise to the conception of a popular myth expressed in "मोक्तियं न गज गजे" of valuable pearl to be found (in the 'Kumbha')-in the forehead of an elephant.

It will be realised how the words "Kumbna,' "Fish" and "Sea" are applicable in the old myths and stories. That is how the *Elephant-head.d* classical god Ganeśa comes into being, the heliacal rise of the Star Canopus-Agastya when the "Hasta" (Corvus - 'kari'-) disappears heliacally.

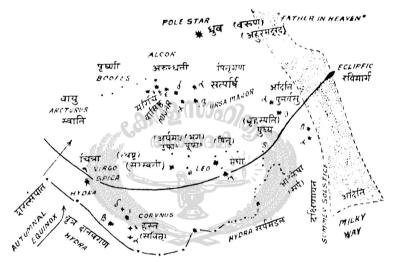
stalls at the dawn may therefore refer to the eqinoctial time when it is not a daily affair that is intended thereby. But for the Autumnal equinox, the Maruts would not be in the picture. star group (representing the cows) which is connected with the Svāti (Arcturus = A-Böötes) star is the Bootes cluster of stars (N. 20° to N. 50°) which has at its other (northern) end the well known star Arundhati (Alcor) and the star Vasistha (Sixth of the Saptarsi-Zeta Ursæ Majoris). It seems that the famous cow of 'Nandini-Kāmadnena' -Surabhi-Devaki-has reference to this star group (including Svāti), if we renember that the Nandini-Kāmadhenu is in the keeping of Arundhati and Vasistha (Cf. Raghuvamsa, I, 56, 82; II, 25, 62ff.). The star group Böötes connected with Svāti and Alcor occupies nearly 20 degrees of (northern) passage of sun in heaven and the king Dilipa took 21 days in attending her. He met the lion (red coloured Svati) on the final day which perhaps means that the star Sväti-Arcturuswas there after 21 days. We have therefore to consider this period and this constellation Bootes in our thoughts of opening of the com-stalls at the autumnal 'dawn.' For futhur reference to cow, see Appendix re " Aryaman and Bhaga" on pp. 151-153.

(61) Angirases: The fathers-or the Pitrs-are the regents of constellation Maghā (Alpha Leo-Regulus). It seems that they refer to the constellation Saptarsi (Ursæ Majoris) of seven stars, the last of which occupies the spaces at the Autumnal equinox. Yama is associated with the departed fathers (Pitrs), particularly the Angirases (X, 14, 3 and 5)-Mac. p. 170, and 171. "Accompanied by them Indra pierces Vala (II, 11, 20)" -Mac. p. 142. "To them Indra disclosed the cows (VIII, 52, 3) for them he opened the stalls (I, 51, 3; I, 134, 4)"-Mac. p. 142. The action of killing the demon and opening of the cow-stall does connect them (through Hydra and Bootes) with the Autumnal equinox at Svāti. Hence it will be proper if we understand them as Saptarsis from this latter point and from the former point which refers to their regency of Magha. We may read this chapter accordingly. "The Vasisthas claim to have first awakened Usas with their hymns (VII, 80, 1) "-Mac. p. 47. This seems to refer to the heliacal rise of Vasistha in the season autumn, with cessation of rain and approach of harvest season when sacrifies are resumed. cf. Rbhus.

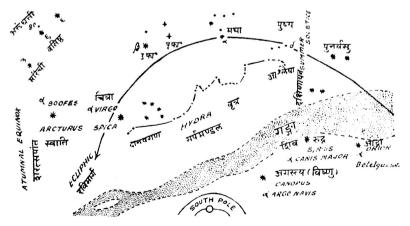


No. 1. Shows Sanku (Trisūla).

No. 2. Shows old Sanku with Dhruya (N.) Agastya (S.) and Sun (W.) काल the महाकाल भित्र, यम, मन्, शिव etc-



No. 3. Shows Sapta Rsis, Pole Star and Bootes upto Svati with reference to वृत्र=Hydra and constellations from पुनर्वमु to खाति.



No. 4. Shows Sirius (হ্ল) अगस्य (Canopus) and Zodiacal constellations with reference to ৰূস=Hydra.

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- (62) Vivrsvat-Mann: "Soma dwells with Vivasvat (IX, 26, ')"-Mac. p. 42., as well as Apah (vide Soma and Apah). This description points to the stellar nature of this God. "The gods are also once spoken of as the offspring (Janimā) of Vivasvat (X, 63.1)"-Mac. p. 42. This does point to the preeminence of this god, which, in the stellar regions belongs to the Pole star - to Dhruva. "He is the father of Manu the ancestor of the human race" -(Mac. p. 42). The characteristic connection of Dhruva with the gnomon seems to have been referred to. "The Asvins who dwell with Vivasvat are besought to come to the offering (I, 46, 13)"-Mac. p. 42. The Asvins who dwell with the Vivasvat refer to their proximity at the Vernal equinox and the connection of Soma points to his proximity at the Autumnal equinox. "Some dwells with Vivasvat (IX, 26, 4) and is cleansed by the daughters (H.=longitudes) of Vivasvat (IX, 14, 5)" -Mac. p. 42. "The streams of Soma flow through the sieve having obtained (the blessing) of Vivasvat and producing the blessing (bhagam) of Dawn" (IX, 10, 5) Mac. p. 42, is quite natural.
- (63) Sacrifices followed the measurement of Time from the gnomon (Sanku). We read that "Manu was the institutor of sacrifice.—For when he had kindled the fire, he presented the first offering with the seven priests to the gods" (X, 63, 7)—Mac. p. 139. The seven priests are the Saptarsis heliacally arrived, associated with the sacrifices which start at the end of the rainy season in autumn and with the suppression of Hydra. Yama too is the son of Vivasvat (Mac. p. 139) which is the same conception but from a different view point-from point of oblivion with reference to short human standard
- (64) Trastr-Sarasv ti: We apply the calendar to ascertain the position of sun when the worship in honour of the goddess Sarasvati commences. The days when this goddess is invoked are Asvin, 7th to 9th tithis (digits), of the bright half, when the lunar mansion on its seventh tithi is Müla constellation, and on the ninth the constellation is then Śravana. The first day of the Śrāvana month is of the dark half when the sun is in the 47th space of Pusya and the moon is in the O (or first) space of the Abhijit constellation (Vide tables III-IV). From that day, 81

digits of the moon will complete the sixth tithi of the Asvin month (its bright fortnight) which would mean in all 79 and 43/62 solar days from the summer solstice, or 796 and 58/62 sapees of the ecliptic. The sun would therefore be at the time in the Citrā constellation perhaps nearing the Citrā star longitude (A Virgo-Spica) completing its 38 spaces, the regent god being Tvastr. By that time, the moon will complete 2 circles and 3358 with 29/31 spaces (134 spaces=a solar day) from Abhijit, placing herself in the constellation Mūla according to the equal space system (vide table IV). Three digits more and she is in the Śravana constellation, in its 53rd space. Now we can understand the description of Sarasvatland Tvaṣṭr with reference to Citrā (Spica) star.

(65) Sarasvatī is called "an'iron' fort" -(Mac. p. 86) perhaps from the blue colour of the star Spica. She is called a stream ('Sindhu') surpassing all other water (bright light) in greatness. The term 'Sindhu' is remarkable in its reference to the star of the magnitude of Citra (Spice-Virgo). It seems that great stars are considered to be oceans of (water) light. She has "seven sisters and is sevenfold (VI 61, 10-12)"-(Mac. p. 86) which evidently seem to refer to the (heliacal arrival of seven stars of the Saptarsi constellation. "The goddess comes to the sacrifice on the same chariot as the Fathers' and seats herself on the sacrificial grass (X, 17, 8-9)' -Mac. p. 86. The reference to the arrival of the Pitrs-fathers is a reference to (the heliacal) arrival of the Saptarsis, perhaps completed at the same time. Her appearance at the harvest season has been an international symbol-a stalk is given in the hand of the Virgo: the Vedic poets see in her the motherly element and sings that "Her unfailing breast (cf. AB. IV, 1.) yields riches of every kind" (I, 164, 49)-Mac. p. 87, a beautiful picture of the splendid harvest. She is "a Vrtra slayer (VI, 61, 3-7) "-Mac. p. 87; evidently, since her beneficent influence persists even when the Hydra has not yet terminated. The star Spica rises just after or along with the Hasta and Svāti and hence its description acquires much of the imagery that can be pictured from the proximity of the Hasta constellation. "She is particularly

¹ Her name ' $\hat{Sa}rud\bar{a}$ ' retains the association of Autumn. So too the swan, lotus, flowers etc., emphasise this season in her picture, the peacock reflects the Saptarşi-the fathers (vide para 75 for this peacock).

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(H. and naturally) associated with the Maruts "-Mac. p. 87 and 78). "The VS. even speak of Sarasvati as the bride of the Asvins" (Mac. p. 87) which seems to refer to the astrological seventh house to their position in east (lagna), with reference to Citrā.

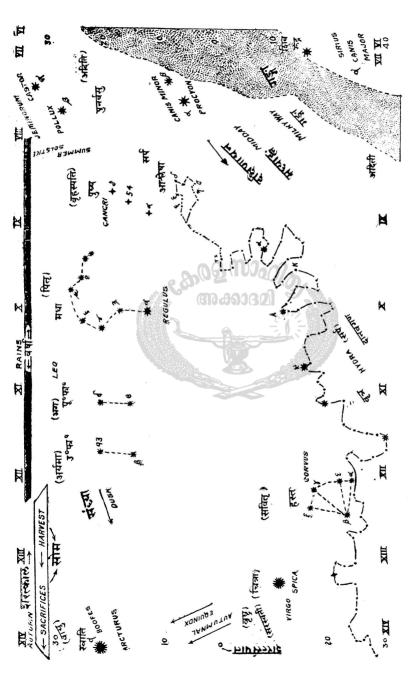
- (66) The god Tvastr has an individuality of his own. holds an 'iron' axe in his hand (VIII, 29, 3)" Mac. p. 116. This seems to refer to the shape ' of the Hasta (Corvus) constellation. He bears a bowl of wealth, a cup full of Soma (AV. 9, 4, 3-6) "Mac. p. 116. This picture brings in Svāti in which constellation, Soma is purified and drunk by the gods." "As a companion of the Angirases, he knows the regions of the gods (X. 70, 9) "Mac. p. 117. This refers to his rise with the Saptarsi constellation. He is "yoking his two steeds" (Mac. p. 116) which seems to point to the two stars of Asvini constellation in the opposite direction, " Tyastr is especially the guardian of Soma, which is called the 'mead of Tvastr' (I, 117, 22)-Mac. p. 116. This seems to refer to the simultaneous rising of the star Svāti and Citra on the eastern horizon. Since the (Autumnal) equinox does not fall in the Citra constellation in spite of its having such close association, but it has to give way in preference to Svāti, (which rises earlier). Indra is said to have a quarrel with Tvastr and to have stolen Soma from his house (Mac. pp. 116-117) which is near equator.
- (67) It will be worth while to note that the months, days and the fortnights of festivals have to be scrutinized before we may apply the old calendar. We have to see if they are or are not modified or changed later on; and to see if the days are either solar ones, or civil ones, or if it is the digits that are stated by the day. Wherever lunar digits and lunar mansions are stated it looks that the solar days (of solar months) are not in question, rather the solar day and position of sun amongst stars is fixed through them; but we have to be careful in accepting the name of

¹ The imagery after this shape of an "axe" reappears later in a different form in our classical literature in the figure of Paraśurāma who holds an Axe. It is like Gaņeśa and Kārttikeya, the advent of Agastya-star Canopus-, the symbolical elephantine head being substituted by the axe-like shape of the Hasta (Corvus) constellation. Kārttikeya gives another imagery after Agastya, the ride on peacock representing its heliacal arrival along with that of saptarsi (vide para 75).

the month in all such cases. It seems that the sysetm of equal spaces is agreed upon in the Vedic calendar in some quarters, in preference to the one of unequal spaces. That however does not alter the actual position of the stars though it alters, at times, the space value ascribed to them, in terms of the constellation.

- (68) Vrira:— This is preeminently the Ahi the serpent of the obstructive and of the 'evil' tendency (Mac. p. 152 and p. 158). "Hence he is without feet or hands (I, 32, 7; III, 30, 8.)"-Mac. p. 158 There is little doubt that he has some connection with the rainy season. "He has thunder at his disposal (I, 80, 12) as well as lightning, mist and hail (I, 32, 13)" Mac. p. 158. It is Maruts that help Indra to overcome him and his form of a serpent leads us to take him to represent the gigantic but zigzag constellation Hydra which ends in Svāti (regent god being Vāyu) and which begins at Āśleṣā constellation, whose regent god is <u>Surpa</u> the Serpent.
- (69) He is overpowered in the Sarat season and it was then the fortieth day, fortieth perhaps from sometime to the heliacal rise of star Canopus on the Indian horizon (Cf. II, 12, 3 and II). Indra released seven 'Sindhus' to follow their course is also told herein. It seems to refer to the free course of Saptarsi along with Böötes (the cow) after their heliacal rise. The release of the cows by Indra is accordingly quite natural, it being then the Autumnal equinox. The term 'Sindhu' applied to Citra is also applied to the seven stars of the Saptarsi constellation. (Cf. II, 12, 12). The serpentine god was, of course, a shining god. It seems that "the seven rivers that flow in the jaws of Varuna as into a surging abyss (VIII, 58, 12)"-(Mac. p. 25) refer to the Saptarsi and the Pole Star.
- (70) In the fight with this Hydra group, Indra gets help from many other gods of whom, we have yet to consider the Brhaspati, Agni and Visnu. For this purpose, we shall have to look to an additional factor—to the Agastya star in the south, (the cardinal point opposite to the North) which sets heliacally before the begin-

We read in Raghu. IV, 44 " अगस्त्यचरितामाशाम्....." Mallinatha in his comments observes that " अगस्त्यो दक्षिणामाशामाश्रित्य नेमिस स्थितः । वरुणस्थात्मजी योगी वित्र्यवातापिमईनः । इति ब्रह्मपुराणे ॥ " We find here the same idea of "the Son" and of the "Father in Heaven" put somewhat differently.



No. 6 Shows constellations from gaag to खाति (in hours 6 to 14) with seasons and are. Shows ga=Hydra from solstide to equinox (with adjoining constellations from yafig to tarff at average) with its 100 · forts ', the 100 · Kauravas ', the Dragon, the Biblical Serpent, the Evil, the Ravana, the Satau, embodying Rahu to Ketn etc., etc., spreading from yat to tarff.

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ing of Hydra but which rises helically on the termination of the rainy season (Cf. Raghuvamia IV, 21). It is then the time when Hasta-Corvus) is heliacally setting. Further, since the constellation Hasta is in the south, the other stars of the two succeeding constellations Citrā and Svāti set in soon after it. Hence the star Canopus is conceived to rise with the heliacal appearance of equinoctial star Svāti. This phenomena also has a parellel in the north with reference to the heliacal rise of the Saptarsi constellation, because it marks approximately the same time. Hence, in the fight with Vrtra, we come across a star, its star picture and the conception of Light as against the darkness (of the period of the rainy season).

- (71) Evil: A few remarks on the evil serpentine god will not be out of place. The conception of evil as of a gliding, crooked serpentine form is international (as Drazon, Hydra, Satan etc.) but Hydra constellation has escaped the notice as well as the Northern star group of Saptarsi and the Southern star Agastya, the two saving graces to this evil, -all of them have been lost sight of. At times the Draco constellation is mistakenly taken when the Hydra ought to figure in. The Biblical serpent who is tempting the Eve with the (golden?) fruit is this Hydra with the (golden) Svāti (Arcturus) at its end, the Eve being the Light associated with the gnomon (= Adam) [cf. quotation (K) from the Jain Text and notes thereon pp. 159-160.] The d agon in most of the myths is Hydra. The several headed monster in the story of Hercules is none else than the Hydra constallation, the mouths representing the stars that may be associated with the Asjesi constellation, Hercules representing Can pus-Agastya.
- Bihaspati is the regent god of the Pusya constellation at the summer solstice the cardinal northern point, and which is near the Hydra constellation. "He is seven mouthed and seven rayed" (IV, 50, 4-Mac. p. 101) which fact points to his connection with the Saptarsi constellation; the end of the Saptarsi furnishes another picture. "He also wields a golden hatchet (VII, 97, 7) and is armed with an iron axe, which Tvastr sharpens (X. 53, 9,)" Mac. p. 101. The golden colour is an index of the Svāti star and the shape of axe to that of the Hasta star, the-proximity of Citrā (of blue colour) bringing in the regent god

^{6 [}Annals. B. O, R. I.]

Tvastr. He is said to be 'blue-backed' which cannot be explained by reference to Citrā star; but "he is golden-coloured and ruddy (V. 43, 12)"-Mac. p. 101. This it seems, is a northern imagery of the star Agastya-Canopus, which, when it rises heliacally is accompanied with the heliacal arrival of the Saptarsi stars. The colour of Agastya is changing and variegated to-day but it was red if we follow the covert allusions to it in the dramas of Kālidāsa (Vide writer's paper "Astronomical Data in the Dramas of Kālidāsa)".

(73) The epithet Angirasa (son of Angirasas) belongs to him exclusively (II, 23, 18) "-Mac. p. 102. This does emphasise his connection with the Saptarsi. So too, in the description-"When Brhaspati with fiery gleams rent the defences of Vala, he revealed the treasures of the cows; as if splitting open eggs, he drove out the cows of the mountain; he beheld the honey enclosed by the stone; he brought it out, having cloven (Vala) with his roar; he smote forth as it were the marrow of the Vala (X. 68, 4-9) "-Mac, p. 102. This description points to the end of Sapta rsi constellation connected with the Bootes and the end of Hydra at the Autumnal equinox. The equinoctial place seems to have been called a mountain. It was on the mountain that the Ahi (= Vrtra) was resting (Mac. p. 158). It was from the mountain that the bird (Svāti) brought the fire (Mac. p. 71). The top of the gnomon is as it were a peak (Sanu) as we saw in the case of Trita (vide Trita). He drove out the cows and distributed them in heaven (II, 24, 14,) '-Mac. p. 102. The cows so released are therefore not terrestrial. It will be perhap; evident. With Indra, he is Soma drinker (IV, 49, 3; IV 50, 10)" (Mac. p. 103) which is an index of his proximity to the Autumnal equinox. He is naturally associated with the Maruts (Mac. p. 103) which transfers to him the roar of the Maruts in the fight. And since he is associated with the Saptarsis, he is associated with songs, with the wisdom of the priests as well as with their learning. Thus he is supreme in his beneficence because prosperity is the fruit at the Autumnal equinox. (vide Amara I 3, 24, 27 re. Angirasa.)

¹ The uniting red jewel in the Vikramorvašīya and the red-jewelled ring of the Sākuntala. Cf. also Vikram. IV, 34, 36; V, 2, 3, 4 etc. for their descriptions of deep red color.

- (74) Visnu: In the conception of this god we have another imagery drawn around the star Agastya the regent of the South. He rises daily for some hours and then sets. But his treadings are marked by important events in human life. In Visnu, he is conceived as taking big strides-three strides- of which the third is beyond the ken of mortals. "Man glorifying Visnu, tracks two steps of that heaven beholding (deity) but he apprehends not the third; nor can the souring winged birds (pursue it)" (-Wilson-) RV I. 155, 5 -Mac. p. 38." The same notion seems to be mystically expressed (I, 155, 3) when he is said to bear his third name in the bright realm of heaven. The highest place of Vispu is regarded as identical with the highest place of Agni, for Visnu guards the highest, the third place of Agni (X, 1,3) and Agni with the loftiest station of Visnu guards the mysterious cows (V, 3, 3). The highest step of Visnu is seen by the liberal like an eye fixed in heaven (1, 22, 20); it is his dear abode where pious men rejoice and where there is a well of honey (I, 154, 5), and where the gods rejoice (VIII, 29, 7). This highest step shines down brightly and is the dwelling of Indra and Visnu. where are the many-horned swiftly moving cows ["यत्र गावः सूरि-अका अवासः, ''] and which the singer desires to attain (I, 154, 6) '' -Mac. p. 38.
- (75) It is told that the three steps exhaust all the 'Bhuvanas' (I, 154, 2). This expression, we suggest, should be taken to mean that the three strides cover all the changes in the year, of one complete revolution of sun whereafter the phenomena would repeat. Thus, we must measure the strides along the ecliptic in its 3660 spaces. The loftiest step is invisible and in the bright realm of heaven; therefore it represents the phenomena when the star Agastya has set heliacally. Since the final step contains 'flow of honey'-which is a reference to the rains and their results; and 'wherein there are many horned cows' which is a reference to the Saptarsis with their forecrest (known thereby at times as 'Citrasikhandi'-a peacock with crest-Amara I, 3, 27); the final step must therefore be from the summer season to the autumn or to the Autumnal equinox. The third name may refer to Brhaspati but this is only a conjecture because we do not know the other names at present. Now, if we count the spaces onwards

on the ecliptic from Abhijit, 1220 spaces would bring us to the constellation Krttika (Pleiades) according to the equal space division. From thence, further 1220 spaces would bring us to the end of the constellation Uttaraphalguni the period of the invisibility of Agastya. The third 1220 spaces would take us back to Abhijit whose regent is Brahmā. The star Canopus sets heliacally just about the sun in Krttika (vide table IV) and rises when the sun is covering up Hasta in his rays. This is just the step-the final and the third (if the first begins with the heliacal rise of Agastya \-where he is not seen-it is really beyond the mortal ken, only 'the wise' or liberal know it. It is re narkable that the regent god of the constellation Krttikā is Agni. (This may perhaps account for the list of constellations starting with Krttika found in some works). "Visnu is spoken of (I, 156, 5) as having three abodes (Trisadhastha) an epithet primarily appropriate to Agni." Mac. p. 38. Shall we be justified to say that one of the two unknown names of Visnu is Agni? Visnu is considered the 'ancient germ of order' (Mac. p. 38) which seems to signify some basis of the Agni worship, connected with the cycle of seasons and Canopus.

(76) The cows in the sacrifice ' Gwim Ayrra' seem to be of

When this truth will be realized, it will be found that for want of proper elucidation of such symbolical accounts, the "betraval" of C'irist has been ascribed to an individuel or to a tribe or to a rade; and develop therefrom one of the most unfortunate piece of history-develop bitterness leading to hatred, vengeance and persecution; and that they follow on and persist through centuries for the 'blood' of Christ-for the yearly phenomena of the lieliacal setting of Canopus in reality!

I The heliacal setting of Agastya-Caropus:— This happens in or about the beginning of sign Taurus when the sun is there (vide tables III and IV for the signs) and which circumstance is graphically narrated in the Gospels as the 'betrayal' of Christ by one of his twelve disciples (in one of the twelve signs of the ecliptic) for 30 pieces of silver (which is 30 degress or perhaps 30 days in a sign). The heliacal rise of this star occurs when the sun is in the sign Virgo (vide tables III and IV for the sign) which makes it symbolically the 'son of a Virgin' as the Gospels would have it from Taurus to Virgo, it is the third portion of the ecliptic-the one vast stride of Visnu. "The Son of Man will come in clouds" is a natural imagery arising out of association of Canopus with the rainy season (the idea seems to have originated in the conception of the "Apāmnapāt god). The heliacal rise of this star is associated with harvest-the Christ is styled the "Lord of Harvest."

Saptarsis with their crest (=horns) in the forepart and hoofs in Bootes, the cows which reside in the final step of Visnu, when during rains, for two months, the sacrifices get out of question.

- (77) In the fight against Vitra, naturally Visnu is associated with Indra. "Indra about to slay Vitra says, 'Friend Visnu, stride out vastly' (IV, 18, 11)" Mac. p. 39. The one important function of Agastya is suppression of Hydra, classically, of the King Bali.
- (79) Indra: One of the central figures in the Vedic poetry is Indra. He nearly reflects the character of the most of gods we have described so far. We need not therefore repeat the descriptions. "All the gods are unable to frustrate his deeds and counsels (II, 32, 4) 'Even Varuna and Surva are subject to his command' (I, 101, 3 cp. II. 38, 9)" Mac. p 58. This description would not warrant his identity with the sun. Varuna is the god of Night and hence, in day time, the god who would command Sun is Indra. It looks therefore that the Indra god is the regent god of the Sun (East) as Varuna god is the regent god of the Star Dhruva (North). He is a fighting god and the fight with Vrtra (cf. Mac. pp. 58 61 and the Maps) puts him at the summer solstice point and also at the Autumnal equinox. "His car is drawn by the two tawny steeds (hari)" (Mac. p. 55). This description associates him with the Vernal Equinox, the two steeds seem to be the two Asvin stars. His fondness for the drink of Soma associates him with Light and Time and since he is resplendant (in the sun) he is drinking it much more than any other god, the exception being made of the Vayu god, the latter having the privilege of being stationary at the Autumnal equinor. This is sufficient to explain the Indra god over and above what has been explained in connection with the various other gods. cf. Note 'G' on p. 157.
- (79) Ayni:— After considering the several gods, we are in a position to understand the god Agni and Agni worship. The place of Agni is as central in the religious literature as it is in the home of the Vedic times. Agni is the Light that is on the earth but, in a representative capacity. He is "Purchita" (Mac. p. 96) "representative" on earth of the heavenly lights. When the starlights are gone-invisible, when the sun is absent-not yet on the horizon-at Dawn, Agni the representative is lighted

up. He thus represents the star light that is not present. When in the evening, the (star) light again returns with the stars, his function of representation is superfluous—it terminates. It is not to be forgotten that the sun is not the predominant figure or an exclusive eminent god in the Vedic conceptions. Varuna has his own eminence. Of a subordinate nature is the eminence of Mitra. Of another eminence is the star Canopus-Agastya in various imageries of Vedic gods. Agni is therefore the representative of each and every one of them, at day time or when they are with the sur, set heliacally. Hence, till the time of the heliacal rise of this star Canopus, Agni represents him as Apāmvatsa or rather as Apāmnapāt, as son of waters. "Waters"-because it is then the rainy season. (We may here recollect the imagery of the gospels that 'the Son of Man will come on clouds'). Agni when born is Varuna "-(Mac. p. 29) is a perfect expression since Varuna is not visible at day and because Varuna is the pivot of the (Vedic) stellar gods, the sun being only one of the many such gods. It is thus that the sacred and godly character of Agni is bestowed on it by Varuna. "When kindled, he is Mitra (V 31, 1)" (Mac. p. 29) is also true. It is in the measurement of time (from morn) that the Mitra god stands associated with the Varuna. Agni in waters (Mac. p. 92) is a reference to the Agastya, when he is in waters in the rainy season. The autumn follows. It is told that Usus arrives with a bright child (Mac p. 48) she has been produced (prasuta) for the production (savāya) of Savitr and arrives with a bright child (1, 113, 1-2)". Savitr is the regent god of Hasta (Corvus) constellation. (Cf. Gospels" Before they came together she was found with child of the Holy ghost'' Matthew I, 18-19, and " Joseph knew her not till she had brought forth a son " - (I, 25). This is the case of the heliacal rise of star Agastya (in Autumn with Sun in Virgo) in the proximity of the Autumnal equinox through the early appearance of star Svati where the equator and ecliptic unite. He is thus said "to have been born from the belly of Asura III 29, 4)" (Mac. p. 90) meaning thereby the heliacal rise of Agastya even while the (asura) Hydra was there. Thus the importance of the advent of Canopus is the importance of Agni. "In him are comprehended all the gods (V, 3, 1), whom

he surrounds as a felly the spokes (V, 13, 6)" (Mac. p. 95) is the correct description of Agni since the Vedic gods are stellar gods and the Vedic analysis of the prime force seems to be the Light that pervades everywhere in one form or another. Agni represents an unbroken human touch with the divine lights as their representative on the earth. 'Thus the sun enters Agni when it sets' (Mac. p. 93).

- (80) As a representative of Light and of Time too, through the light, Agni is described as follows:— "Agni knows the sacrifice exactly (X, 110, 11) and knows all rites (X, 122, 2). Knowing the proper season he rectifies the mistakes which men commit through ignorance of the sacrificial ordinances of the gods (X, 2, 4-5)" Mac. p. 97. Thus he becomes a centre of knowledge, of prayers, of devotion, of offerings and of all the activities the knowledge may lead to. "The sacrificial fire seems to have been an Indo-European institution also, since the Italians and Greeks, as well as the Iranians and Indians had the custom of offering gifts to the gods in fire" Mac. p. 99.
- (81) Great importance has been attached to the harvest season falling about the Autumnal equinox. The bird-or the star-Svāti thus fetching the fire, the Light, or kindling the fire has been an international story. The daughter of the sage Kanva protected by the bird (Svāti) earns a most graceful tribute Śakuntalā is the good action incarnate" ("হাস্কুলকা মূর্নি মর্না মার্লিক্সা।" Śāk. V. 15). This is the true description of the resultant activities which started with the resumption of the worship of Light and lime-of Agni worship, pure in the basic conception at the Autumnal equinox period. It did degenerate

Here we can explain the Indian custom of Waving of Light performed before the images of gods at twilight, both at Dawn and at Dask. When the stars begin to tade and disappear at Dawn, the temple doors are opened and the first ceremony performed before the deity is to wave the Light before the image, which is the representative of the (stellar) deity. The concluding ceremony at Dusk is identical in nature: since the stars begin to shine, the temple doors are closed after the Waving of Light. It is called "Arātrika" ceremony implying its limitation to the time of night only. The human touch with gods-with the stellar gods remains uninterrupted after dusk to dawn, during night: but during day it is lost and accordingly, it is continued through the representative image, the representation with its resumption or its termination being carried through this symbolical act of "Waving of Light."

later on into bloody sacrifices when the stellar light value of the gods was lost in blood. Mac. pp. 29-30:- "The same contrast between Mitra as god of day and Varuna as god of night is implied in the ritual literature, when it is prescribed that Mitra should receive a white and Varuna a dark victim at the sacrificial post (TS. II, 1, 7, 4; II, 1, 9, 1; MS. II, 5, 7)". Stars were described at times as animals as it may be seen with reference to Visnu who is described as "स्पो न भोमः इन्हों-गिरहा:" I, 154, 2. It may be easily realised how 'sacrifices' came to mean 'killing the 'animal,' associated with gods or with godhood. The Goats are sacrificed to goddesses, the sign Aries (Ram) gettin; associated with the Vernal Equinox.

It is the stellar value that is preserved in the classical (stellar) figures of gods, in their images that were conceived therefrom, and which represent a step secondary to the Agni worship. The most prominent instance is that of the Ganesa creation and his worship. (cf foot-notes, pp. 129-135).

- (82) It has not been yet possible for the writer to understand the several other Vedic gods. Perhaps they may have some connection with the lunar mansions and with full moon.
- (83) Before concluding this article, we quote that "Soma is described in the RV. as pressed three times in the day. Thus the Rbhus are invited to the evening pressing, (IV, 33, 11 etc.), Indra to the mid-day pressing (III, 32, 1-2; VIII 37, 1), which is his alone (IV, 36, 7), while the morning libation is his first drink (X, 112, 1) Mac. p. 107. The Rohus are of the Saptarsi group whose heliacal rise is described in the passage we quote just below. If the Asvins terminate the divine night, the opposite point would be the termination of the divine day, and the summer solstice would be the mid-day. Thus Indra has mid-day pressing while Rbhus (of the Saptarsi at the Autumnal equinox=the divine evening) have the evening pressing. And when Indra gets identified in the Sun, he gets the morning one too at the Vernal Equinox. Let us quote the condition described of the time when, at about Hasta constellation, (its regent god being Savitr) the Saptarsis rise heliacally and when Citra, with its regent god Tvastr and the indication of

the Autumnal equinox Svāti (Vāyu) are manifest through early arrival of Svāti (Vāyu).

- (84) "Another myth connects the Rbhus with Savitr. They are said to have been round the sky; wind-sp?d, in swift course (IV, 33, 1; Cp. I, 161, 12). After much wandering, they came to the house of Savitr, 1 who conferred immortality on them when they came to Agohya (I, 110, 2-3). When slumbering for twelve days, they had rejoiced in the hospitality of Agohya, they made fair fields and directed the streams, plants occupied the aried ground and water the lowlands (IV, 33, 7). By their skill they made grass on the heights and waters in the depths, when they slumbered in the house of Agohya (I, 161, 11). Having slept, they asked Agohya as to who had awakened them; in a year they looked around (I, 161, 13)" Mac. p. 133. There will be nothing that will remain concealed once we recgonise the heliacal rise of Agastya, when Hasta stars set heliacally, when Saptarsis rise heliacally, in the name 'Agohya' and its (heliacal rise) period. before the Autumnal equinox, with the cessation of rain and with abundance of vegetation and harvest. The heliacal rise of the Saptarsis seems to be complete when Svati sets heliacally-they are then 'wind-sped' resuming, after Svati their revolutions, their daily course of rising, culmination and setting. Their heliacal rise in Autumn is beautifully and vividly described coupled as it is with the heliacal rise of Canopus in that interval (-it is the very same picture in the Gospels wherein, the Magi, the Wise Men from the East, come to worship the Child who is then born to the "Virgin-Mt. II, 1-12"). The query - who awakened them ?-' sounds mysteriously answered: in a year they get the answer when the heliacal rise is so repeated.
- (85) The Rudras have not been referred to here but we may say in brief that they are the regents of Ardra (Betelgeuse) and of Star Sirius (A-Canis Majoris), the latter occupies portion of hot season; rising in rainy season and the god thus partakes of two

¹ Cf. note on pp. 129-131 relating to the connection of Vasistha star and Canopus in the history and interpretation of the word 'Kumbhayoni.' Savity god is the regent god of the constellation Hasta (Corvus),-the note explains its bearing to 'Kumbha'-, with which Citra (Spica), Vasistha and Canopus stars are associated.

^{7 [} Annals. B. O. R. I.]

sorts of temperament both convenient and inconvenient, beneficent and milevolent. \bar{A} Ardra being in hot season and heliacal rise of Sirius occurring in rainy season amidst torrential rains. [In the paper " $Vedic\ Gods$ -V-Rudra- $K\bar{a}li$ " full consideration of Rudra is taken up along with the Div see Femile, Vasu (s), of gods Pūṣan, Savitr, Hiranyagarbha and of Prajāpati with ' $Aj\bar{a}$ ' in their connection. It was read before the Mysore Oriental Conference in Dec. 1935. It will be published in the A. B. I. in course of time.]

(86) Resume: In brief the results (in this article) are as under:

The Calendar :-

The year—Primarily of 366 solar days, according to Kautilya, and Jain Texts controlled and corrected by Malamāsa etc.

The Ecliptic—3660 spaces, 23 constellations: two systems of equal (non-Jain) and unequal (Jain) distribution of spaces.

The months—Ending in full moon according to Kālidāsa. Kautilya and Jain Texts.

'To-day star Sirius is blue in color but it seems to be changing color in olden times. "A learned discussion by Dr. T. J. J See, moreover, enforces the belief that Sirius was absoluted red 1800 years ago. 'Astronomy and Astrophysics,' Vol. XI, p. 29." [from Clerk's "Popular History of Astronomy during the Nineteenth Century" (1902), p. 375, footnote.]

It is remarkable that Kālidāsa refers to Siva as 'Nīla-Lohita' (Sāk. VII. 34) which, with reference to star Sirius, would be blue-red i.e. purple color.

We add one more quotation on this subject from the "Star Lore of all Ages" by W. T. Olcott (G. P. Patnam's Sons. Newyork), 5th edition 1929 pp. 102-3, from its chapter on Canis Major-Sirius;—

"The question whether Sirius has changed in color since early times has given rise to considerable controversy. Ptolemy called it flery red, Senecca, claimed it was redder than Mars. Cicero also mentions its ruddy light and Tennyson wrote, 'The flery Sirius alters hue and bickers into red and emerald.' Dr. See, the eminent astronomer of the present day, asserts that 1800 years ago, Sirius was red......There is a reference in Festus to the effect that the Roman farmers sacrificed ruddy or fawn colored dogs to save the fruits on account of the Dog star, and Dr. See, says there is no reason why the Romans should sacrifice red dogs except that Sirius was red, and dogs of the same color must be offered up to the "Dog" in the sky. There can be no doubt that many of the ancients looked upon red stars as angry deities.'

In the above description, we get another picture of how accidents of associations with Light degenerate into bloody sacrifices. The true perspective of stellar values gets obscured and lost; and thence arise consquent misdirected applications.

Equinoxes—In the midst of Asvini and in Svati constellations. Solstices—In Pusya and in Abhijit constellations.

The Gods and Goddesses:-

Varuna-Regent god of Pole Star Dhruva.

Vivasvat— " " " " " "

Mitra— ,, of Śanku the Gnomon (the Samrāt Yantra)

Dawn, Usas--With reference to Gods-Equinoctial points and with reference to Calendar, Equinoctial points and daily phenomena.

Aśvins—Twins-the Regent gods of Aśvini at the Vernal equinox.

Vāyu, Marut, Mātariśvan—The regent gods of Svāti (Arcturus) at the Autumnal equinox.

Brhaspati—The regent god of Pusya at the summer solstice (an imagery of Saptarsi after Agastya--Canopus.

Vispu-Agastya (Canopus: A.-Argo Navis).

Vṛtra-Ahi-Hydra-The regent of the Serpent god of Aślesā.

Pitrs-Fathers-Regents of Maghā. Saptarși.

Rbhus—of Saptarsi group.

Sapta Sindhus—Seven stars of Saptarsi.

Cows-Rays of star light (particularly at Autumnal equinox).

Soma—Regent god of Light and of Light combined with Time.

Apah—As divine-Light; as terrestrial, transformed into water, juice.

Sarasvatī-Regent goddess of Citrā (Spica - A Virgo).

Tvastr-Regent god of Citrā (Spica) constellation.

Manu, Yama—Śanku the Gnomon.

Yima-Shadow or Light that alights on Sanku.

Indra-Regent god of sun.

Agni-Representative of Stars on earth and of Principal stellar gods.

Trita-Sanku the Gnomon with its two quadrants on its sides.

Apāmnapāt-Agastya—Canopus during its heliacal rise and in the rainy season.

Apsarases-Lights-Shadows coming to Earth.

Gandharvas—Star groups at the Autumnal equinox, such as of Böötes.

Cowstalls—Star lights particularly of some of Böötes stars at the Autumnal equinox in Svāti.

Aditi-The milky way-the Heavenly Ganges-Via Lactea.

Kāmadhenu-Star group Bootes with Svāti.

Angirases-Saptarsi group (Ursæ Majoris).

Rudras-Sirius (A-Canis Majoris).

Aryaman-Star Vasistha. (of Saptarsis)

Bhaga—One of the Saptarsi star(x).

(87) For all purposes and information, "Vedic Mythology" of late Prof. Macdonall has been relied upon while, for facts from the Jain sacred texts, the text of Kālalokaprakāša has been used.

The Texts used are:-

-refurred to as

- (1) "Vedic Mythology"-by A. A. Macdonell (Trübner Strassburg 1897). "Mac."
- (2) "Hymns from Reveda"-P. Peterson (B. S. S.
 No. XXXVI). "RV."
- (3) "Kauţiliyam Arthaśāstram" Dr. R. Shama Śāstri (Mysore 1919 Sanskrit səries No. 54) Text. Translation (Mysore 1923, 2nd edition). "Kauţilya"
- (4) "Kālalokaprakāśa" of Vinayavijayji (Shri Jaina Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhāvnagar-Kathiawad).
- (5) "The Arctic Home in the Vedas"-B G. Tilak. (Poona 1925)
 Ch. on the Night of the Gods. pp. 68-70.
- (6) "Bhāratīya Jyotiṣaśāstra" S. B. Dixit. (2nd edition, 1931
 Poona) pp. 34, 53, 54.
- (7) "Meghadūta ''-of Kālidāsa- K. B. Pathak. 2nd edition 1916.
- (8) "Simplified Stellar Maps" (Lat. N. 20°) J. C. Clancey (1922).

- (9) "Popular Guide to the Heavens" Ball, (George Phillip Son Ltd. London (1910).
- (10) "Śākuntala" of Kālidāsa-(Nirņayasāgar Press edition Bombay). "Śak."
- (11) "Vikramorvasīya"-of Kālidāsa-Edited by Kale. "Vikram."
- (1°) "Raghuvamsa" -of Kālidāsa-(Nirņayasāgar Fress edition Bombay) "Raghu"
- (13) "(Sacred) Jain Texts" Süryaprajñapti' (Publishers: Agamodaya Samiti (Bombay and Surat) 1919.
- (14) ", ", "Jyotişkarandaka" (Publishers: Agamodaya Samiti (Bombay and Surat) 1928.
- (15) Referred to as "Kaye" "Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh.-" by G. R. Kaye (1918) A. S. of I. New Imperial Series Vol. XL.
- (16) ,. ", "Hindu Astronomy" by G. R. Kaye (1924) Memoir of the A. S. 1.
- (17) "Indian Ephemeries" by Dr. S. K. Pillai, Vol. X, Introduction. "Pillai."
- (18) Reference to author's another article:-

"Astronomical Data in the Dramas of Kālidāsa." (to be published in the A. B. I. later on.) It was submitted to the Madras Oriental Conference (Dec. 1924); its summary will be found in the "Summaries of Papers" published by the Conference.

(19) "Amarakoşa" - with com. of Maheśvara. VI ed. 1907, by Jhalakikar Bombay Govt. Central Book Depot.

- Amara

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APPENDIX

ARYAMAN and BHAGA:-(Addenda to para 60).

The cow of Vasistha leads us to the identity of god Aryaman who is "so destitute of individual characteristics that in the Naighantuka he is passed over in the list of Gods" (Mac. p. 45). However, in RV. I, 139, 7, we find that Aryaman has a milk giving cow1 (3h. p. 66-67) which fact points to the connection of Aryaman to Vasistha (Zeta Ursa Major). The relation of both to the Autumn is significant in this respect. "The kings Mitra, Varuna and Aryaman are said to have disposed (created) the Autumn, the month, day and night (Mac. p. 25), sacrifice and rks" VII. 66, 11 (Gh. p. 66). That is just the function of Vasisthas who "claim to have first awakened Usas with their hymns (VII, 80, 1)" Mac. p. 47. The course of sacrifice resumes with the help of Aryaman-Vasistha. The prominence at the Autumnal equinox does permit the grouping of this star with Mitra and Varuna. "Together with Aryaman, Mitra and Varuna are called sun-eyed (VII, 66, 10) " Mac. p, 23 which means that none of the three can he identified with sun. When the (Hindu) longitude of this star is 162°-12', it is in agreement with Longitude 167°-57' of constellation Uttaraphalgupi (its regent being Aryaman) whose yogatara is Beta Leo (Kaye p. 93, 106). Both appear on the eastern horizon nearly the same time and the heliacal rise comes in later constellations. These points support the identity of the god proposed herein although it will be seen that it is not the only ground for the same. The emphasis on the meaning of the word "Su to produce used in connection with god Savitr (regent of the asterism Hasta-Corvus) has been noticed (Mac. p. 34). This word "occurs in connection with (creation of) Usas (V[I, 77, 1) with Varuna (II, 28, 9), with the Adityas (VIII, 18, 1) and with

In respect to this addenda about Aryaman and Bhaga the writer had the benefit of consulting a new treatise "Studies on Revedic Deities Astronomical and Meteorological" by Sit. Ekendranath Ghosh (referred to as Gh. herein). It is published in the Journal and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, (New Series) Vol. XXVIII 1932, No. 1, published 5/9/33.

This treatise supplements in a way the data we get from the work of late Prof. MacDonell.

Mitra. Aryaman coupled with Savitr. This employment being so frequent, Yāska (Nir. X, 31) defines Savitr as 'Sarvasya grasavitā'-' the stimulator of everything'-" Mac. p. 34. It is thus evident that the heliacal rise of god Aryaman has something to do with Savitr. Indeed, such an eminent group of gods, and the heliacal rise of Ursa Major and that of Agastya at harvest time might have furnished an occasion for that famous Sāvitri hymn of the Veda (III, 62, 10) Mac. p. 33. Creation of Uṣas points in fact to the Autumnal equinox. "Soma has been compared with Aryaman and Mitra and Varuna" (Gh. p. 66).

Association of Aryaman (Zeta Ursa Major) with gods Mitra and Varuna may again be referred to. "Indra is, however in RV once coupled in the dual as an Aditya with Varuna as chief of Adityas (VII, 85 4)....when one god alone is mentioned as an Aditya, it is generally Varuna, their chief; when two are men tioned, they are Varuna and Mitra, once Varuna and Indra;..... when three, Varuna, Mitra and Aryaman ;... when five, this is only once the case, the same three together with Savitr and bhaga." (Mac. p. 44). This association does locate both the Aryaman and Bhaga to the period of these gods all grouped together, to the Autumnal equinox. Who the god Bhaga is canno be so easily determined but we may take him to be some star near Vasistha, say the fifth of Saptarsi-Epsilon Ursa Major-whose longitude is 154°-39,' when that of the Pürväphälguni asterism, whose regent is Bhaga, is 157°-36' of its Yogatārā delta Leo (Kaye p. 98, 106). The asterism falls in the rainy season when the agriculture is in progress and when the heliacal rise of Canopis is approaching in the lower latitudes. It is a trat time that "the god Bhaga is asked to deepen the ploughing" (III, 12, 4) Gh. p. 75. In such case and when its heliacal rise is near or about the equinox, associating Bhaga too with all the benefits of nature at harvest, the word 'bhaza' acquires superb connotation. "Dawn is Bhaga's sister (I, 123, 5), Bhaga's eye is adorned with rays (I, 136, 2) and hymnsrise upto Visnu as on Bhaga's path" (III, 54, 14) Mac. p. 45. The above description too puts the god near the Autumnal equinox since Visuu's strides are associated with this

period also (vide Visnu). Anyhow, close association of Bhaga with Aryman is unmistakable to support the proposed identification.

The pair Vasistha and Arun that! (Zeta Ursa Major and Alcor) has always been in India an emblem of matrimonial bliss and of purity in wedded life (their heliacal rise at about the equinox – union of ecliptic and equator – at a time when it is all rejoicings amidst good harvest and bright prospects in the new season does contribute to their glorification). "Aryaman has been praised for providing a new wife, once with Bhaga (X, 85, 23) and once with Bhaga and Savitr." (X, 85, 36) Gh. p. 66. Thus we cannot think of Bhaga without the gods Aryaman and Savitr. We may again revert to Aryaman.

"In Atharvaveda, Aryaman has been invoked for benefit in general, to prevent ill-luck in marriage ceremonies (XIV, i, 50; XIV, 2, 13), to provide a wife or husband (VI, 60, 1), to remove ill omens on the part of a woman (I, 18, 2) and in mantras for an easy delivery (I, 11, 1) "-Gh. p. 66-67. We may well refer all that to Aryaman-Vasistha and read the praises bestowed on the sage in Raghu' I 58-74-" देवीनां मानुर्याणां च प्रतिहर्ता त्वमापदाम्"।

"In Taittirya Brāhmaņa (II, 3, 5, 4) Aryaman has been called the sacrificial fire (Yajña)"..." In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (V, 5, 1, 12) we are told that the path of Aryaman is placed above the high direction (regions) of Brhaspati "Gh. p. 67. The fire does refer to the Autumnal equinox and the path refers to the northern regions where Saptarṣis are. The description will be clear if the reader refers to sections relating to Agni and its cult, to Soma, Brhaspati and to appearance of stars at about the Autumnal equinox on the Indian horizon—to their daily rise as well as to their haliacal arrival.

Beyond these few notes about Aryaman and Bhaga, we are not yet in a position to say anything more definite.

^{8 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

JAIN TEXTS-QUOTATIONS with OBSERVATIONS. From the "Kālalokaprakāśa": Ch. XXVIII -PP. 1-141

- (A) The solar year of 366 days: "-एकस्मिन्नयने तस्मान्सव्यशीतिशतं दिनाः ॥ 292
 षद्षष्ट्याभ्यधिका चैवमहोरात्रशतत्रयी ।
 सूर्यसंवन्सरे दृष्टा विशिष्टज्ञानदर्शनैः" ॥ 293 (p. 38).
- (B) Yuga (cycle) of 5 solar years=1830 solar days:-''तथाहि-सूर्याब्दस्य सषट्षष्टिरहोरात्रज्ञतत्रयी।
 पञ्चष्नाष्टाद्शज्ञातास्थिज्ञाः स्युर्युगवासराः ॥'' 300 (p. 39).
- (C) Yuga begins on the 1st day (Morn) of dark half of Srāvaņa:—

"चान्द्रं वर्षे युगस्यादिस्तस्यादिर्मास इष्यते । मासादिरसितः पक्षस्तस्यादिर्दिवसो भवेत् ॥461॥ (p. 59). यदाषाढपौर्णमासीरजन्याः समनन्तरं प्रवर्तते युगस्यादिर्भरतैरवताख्ययोः ॥463॥ (p. 60).

तथोक्तं जंबूदीपप्रज्ञप्तिसूत्रे — Q.— 'किमाई णं भंते संवच्छरा, किमाइया अयणा, किमाइया उऊ, किमाइया मासा, किमाइया पखा, किमाइया अहो-रत्ता, किमाइया मुहुत्ता, किमाइया करणा, किमाइया नखत्ता, ? '— A.— 'गोअमा! चंदाइया संवच्छरा, दिखणाइया अयणा, पाउसाइया उऊ, सावणा-इया मासा, बहुछाइया पखा, दिवसाइया अहोरत्ता, रुद्दाइया मुहूत्ता, बाछवा-इया करणा, अभियाइया नखता पञ्चता; समणाउसी'। (p. 60)

'श्रावणाऽसितपक्षस्य तिथेः प्रतिपदोऽपि च । बाल्ठवस्य करणस्य ऋक्षस्याभिजितस्तथा ॥ 467 ॥ प्रथमे समये प्रोक्तो युगारम्भश्चिदुत्तरैः । भरतेरावतमहाविदेहेषु समं जिनैः' ॥ 468 ॥ (p. 61).

[&]quot;C" The answer to the disciple Gautama by Mahāvira makes it abundantly clear that the calendar consisted of elements which related to the beginning of the Yuga in the dark half of the month Srāvaṇa, when the season was rainy (Prāvṛṭ) and the solution point was the southern course of the sun and that the moon was then in the Abhijit constellation.

There were deviations later on in the months of the seasons which too were incorporated by the later commentators along with the original but evidently failing to match the two. It will therefore be no surprise if the students find a bit of confusion in this respect in these texts, in respect of the seasons related to months.

(D) Ecliptic=28 constellations=3660 spaces [see also Sūryapraiñapti X, 22 62, and commentary on it:--

" ...जातानि षट्त्रिंशच्छतानि षष्ट्यधिकानि 3660 "... (p. 177)]

"भरणीशतताराद्राश्चेषास्वातिमहेन्द्रभम् । एतान्यपार्द्वक्षेत्राणि नक्षत्राणि जगुर्जिनाः ॥ 315 ॥ पुनर्वस् विशाखा च रोहिणी चोत्तरात्रयं । सार्द्धक्षेत्राण्यमून्याहुनिक्षत्राणि जिनेश्वराः ॥ 316 ॥ भानि पश्चदशान्यानि तुल्यक्षेत्राण्यथाभिजित् । एभ्यो विसदृशं भागास्त्रिशदाढ्यास्य षद्शती ॥ 317 ॥

[630:15=42 of Abhijit. Multiple of 15 has been adopted to suit the lunar course with muhūrtas. Thus 1005=67; 3015=201 and 2010=134 when divided by 15, the total of all being 3660.

अर्द्धक्षेत्राणां च भानां क्षेत्रविष्कम्भ ईरितः । अंशाः सहस्रं पश्चाद्ध्यं प्रत्येकं तस्ववेदिभिः ॥ 318 ॥ सार्द्धक्षेत्राणां सहस्रास्रयः पश्चद्शाधिकाः । तुल्पक्षेत्राणां च भागा दे सहस्रे दशाधिकः ॥ 319 ॥(pp. 40-41)

Moon covers 134 (of 3660) spaces in a solar day of 30 muhürtas.

(E) Solar position on equinoctial points in one Yuga of 5 solar years:—

"पश्चदशमुहूर्जात्मा रजनी दिवसोऽपि च। यत्र तुल्यावुभी स्थातां स कालो विषुवं स्मृतं ॥ 574 तथोक्तमभिधानचिंतामणी--

"तुल्यनकंदिने काले विषुवद् विषुवं च तत्"। "तच्च श्यामादिवसयोः पश्चद्शमुहूर्त्तयोः। प्रदोषकाले विज्ञेयं निश्चयापेक्षया बुधैः"॥ 575॥ 'तत्प्रत्ययनमेकैकं ततस्तानि युगे द्श। याम्यायनस्य पश्चौजान्येषु स्युमीसि कार्तिके॥ 577॥

[&]quot;D" The division of 3660 cannot but go along with 336 days of the year. In the same way, to complete 3360 spaces, 28 constellations are required and hence the constellation Abhijit cannot be left out in this scheme of the calendar.

समानि माधवे मासि पश्च सीम्यायनस्य च" ॥578॥ (pp. 74 - 75) "पञ्चापि विषुवन्त्यकः कुर्यायाम्यायनस्थितः। स्वातेर्नक्षत्रत्य भक्त्वा त्रयोविंशतिमंशकान् ॥ ६०० ॥ अंशाश्वात्र चतर्स्विशद्धिकशताच्छन्नरूपस्य ज्ञेयाः । पश्चापि विषुवन्त्यर्कः कुर्यात्सीम्यायनस्थितः । पकोनसप्तति भागानश्विन्या अवगाह्य च ॥ 601 ॥

इति विषुवन्प्रकरणं' ॥ (pp. 77-78.)

(F) Solstice points in a Yuga (here expressed in Muhūrtas. 3 muhurtas making one space, 30 muhurtas making a solar day) :--

"आवृत्तीः श्रावणे पञ्चाप्यादित्यः कुरुते युगे । पुष्ययको बहिर्गच्छन सर्वाभ्यन्तरमण्डलात ॥ 568 ॥ अष्टाद्शसुहूर्ताढयमहोरात्रचतुष्टयं। पष्यस्य भुक्तवार्कः सर्वा आवृत्तीः श्रावणे सुजेत् ॥ 569 ॥

[4 days+18 muhūrtas = 46 spaces (of 3660 division) of Pusya.]

> अभ्यन्तरं विशत् बाह्यमण्डलात् कुरुते रविः। पश्चापि माधस्याञ्जतिसभिजित्यथनक्षणे " n 570 n (p. 74).

It refers to the 0 space of Abhijit

(G) PP. 75-6 (verses 579-591) give lunar position, digits (other works give months too) on the 10 Visuvas (= equinoxes) of the Yuga. They are as under :--

ा रो० — का०व० 3 ∏ घ०— बै० व० स्वा॰— का॰ व॰ 15 IV प्रत॰— वै॰ हा॰ ं V उ०भाद्र०-- का० हा० 12 VI अनु०-- वै० व० VII मधा — का० व० 9 VIII अश्विती — वै० व० 15 [X उ०आ० — का० छा० 6 X उ०का० — वे० छा० 12

[&]quot;G" The first equinox in the first year of the Yuga occurs when the moon is in Rohini constellation on the (completion of the) Karttika Vadi 3. Since one solar month consists of 31 complete digits, three solar months (to arrive at the equinox from the solstice point; would repuire 93 completed digits and hence from the Sravana first of its dark fortnight, it will be three digits of Karttika completed.

Add 3 circles and 1281 spaces to O Abhijit at Summer solstice =1st fags: Then add double of it i.e. 6 circles and 2562 spaces for each successive position therefrom.

Solar days of various type of months:-
"सार्ख्वास्त्रिशदहोशत्रा मासमानं भवेद रहेः ।

ऋतुमासः पुनिश्रंशदहोरात्रात्मकः स्कुटः ॥ 311 ॥

एकोनत्रिंशता चाहोरात्रमांसोऽमृतग्रुतेः ।

द्विषाद्विजैरहोरात्रभागेद्वात्रिंशताधिकैः ॥ 312 ॥

नक्षत्रमासोऽहोरात्राः सप्तिविंशतिरन्विताः ।

अहोरात्रछवैरेकविंशत्या सप्तषष्टिजैः ॥ 313 ॥

एकात्रिंशदहोरात्राश्चेकविंशं शतं छवाः ।

चतुःविंशतिविचिछन्नाहोरात्रस्याभविद्धिते"॥ 314 ॥ (р. 40)

Solar =30½; seasonal =30; Luni-solar =29 $\frac{3}{6}$ ½; Synodical = 27 $\frac{21}{67}$; 1 month (of 13 month's luni-solar year compressed into 12 months)=31 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{21}{4}$. 12 months=1 year (p. 40).

(I) The Luni-sclar year $(12 \times 29\frac{32}{62})$ is short by several days of a solar year $(30\frac{1}{2} \times 12)$: hence by every $2^{1/2}$ luni-solar year, a luni-solar month of $29\frac{32}{62}$ days is added:—

(continued from previous page)

According to the writer of this article, the third act, of the drama Vikramorvasiya of Kālidāsa, is a description of such an Equinox with mood in Rohini. See his article on the "Astronomical Data in the Dramas of Kālidāsa." (to be published).

Can this be the three lakes that Indra drinks, the "lakes" being the digits of the moon? We read (Mac. p. 56). For the slaughter of Vṛṭra he drank three lakes of Soma-V, 29, 7; cp. Vf, 17, 11." That would further exlpain (Mac. ibid) "and he is even said to have drunk at a single draught thirty lakes of the beverage (VIII, 66, 4)." The thirty lakes would be the thirty digits of a luni-solar month, from one lunation to the other. We can therefore explain the passage-" So essential is Soma to Indra that his mother gave it to him or he drank it on the very day of his birth (III, 48, 23; III, 32, 9-10; VI, 40, 2; VII, 98, 6)? Mac. p. 56--to mean that (at the commencement of Yuga) the solar year was converted into luni-solar on the first digit which means then the first drink of Indra on the start.

Then the Sautrāmaṇi ceremony is referred to [(X, 119)-Mac. p. 56] to cure Indra of the excessive indulgence in Soma drink. This excess must be then the excess of one or other in the daily value of the spaces of the sun or of the moon over the either. The ceremony goes on over three days which would perhaps point to the completion of three digits of Kārttika month when the Autumnal equinox is fixed up, when the "Jewel' is threaded-perhaps to the centre-when the "Sautrāmaṇi" is done.

"मासोऽधिकोऽयं स्यार्त्रिंशत्सूर्यमासव्यातिक्रमे ॥ 364 ॥ युगस्य मध्ये पौषोऽयमन्ते त्वाषाढ एव च । तृतीयपश्चमे वर्षे तत एवाभिवर्धते" ॥ 365 ॥ (p. 47.)

This text ought to hold good for Kautilya II, 20, 38, last verse.

(J) P. 51 gives some of the lunar mansions on full-moon day:--

"नक्षत्राणि यथायोगं स्वस्वमासानुसारतः । भवन्ति यत्र राकायां कार्त्तिके कृत्तिका यथा ॥ 393 ॥ तथोक्तं-'जेट्ठो वच्चइ सूळेण सावणो धणिद्वाहिं अद्दासु अ मगसिरो सेसा नक्खत्तनामिया मासा' ।" (p. 51).

Months bear their names from the constellation in which the moon is full e. g. む む む む then full moon in Krttikā and the month therefrom is styled Kārttika. Exception :—

ज्य॰ ग्रु॰ 15 Full moon in Müla constellation. भा॰ ग्रु॰ 15 ,, in Dhanisthä ,, मार्ग॰ ग्रु॰ 15 ,, ,, in Ārdrā ,

The discussion has another bearing. It is on the stated 366 days of the year which, being too much, would necessarily give rise to the procedure of "Mala Masa"—of dropping of a solar month of some days to harmonize the calendar (mere reckoning) with the true course of the sun. The reader should refer to the observations on it in the article.

[&]quot;J" The constellations of full-moon nights did form a matter of observation as well as a matter of calculation; hence any variance in the latter can be checked by the former. If the exact length of the year is not exactly 366 days but less by about-say- $\frac{3}{4}$ (or less) of a day it would mean that the sun will complete 3660 spaces in about 3651 days, the daily course would then be slightly over 10 spaces. That cannot be checked daily, from course of Sun easily in a short time but the opposite point to the sun-the moon on a full-moon night can be checked. If the sun is faster, the moon has to reach more spaces than average 134 for a solar day to complete the full-moon point. Hence, according to unequal or equal spaces, on Margasirsa full moon the moon covers ordinarily 1475 and 50/62 spaces but the sun being faster, the moon cught to cover about 8 spaces more every month from Sravana and thus would put herself to fullness in the constellation Ardra in Margasirsa, in Pusya in Pausa, in Mula in Jyestha and curiously, in Svati in Caitra, which last fact is slightly not in consonance with the statement of the text that the full-moon constellations genearlly synchronise with the names of the months with the only three stated exceptions. It seems therefore that 134 rate is an average one, the actual being more or less varying at different periods of the year, or of the month,

(K) Sanku is styled "Purusa" hence "Paurusi" the shadew:--

"राङ्कुः पुरुषशब्देन स्यादेहः पुरुषस्य वा। निष्पन्ना पुरुषात्तरमात्पारुषीत्यपि सिद्ध्यति॥ १९४॥

(pp. 125-126).

"तथोक्तं नन्दीचूणीं-

1st "K" The quotation from the Genesis has very great significance in this connection. As observed in the text of the article, the conception of Manu, Yama, or of Adam-the "ancestor" of the human race is to be referred to the Gnomon, the Sanku of the type of Samrātyantra of the observatories of Jai Sinha. So conception of "woman," of the first Sakti as well is to be referred to the Light which alights on it and on its sides, the left side of the Sanku facing the Eastern direction, where sun rises daily. The mid-day Light—"Prabha- (or Shadow) tends to merge itself into Sanku and thus identify with it and with the Pole-star Dhruva and with its regent god Varuna. The evening shadow leaves the Sanku and as it were, dissolves into the vast stellar expanse of the light at night.

This identity of the woman with Light may have any significance of the accidental or of the natural fact of coincidence. The recognition of the either fact is sure to unravel the basic conceptions which in their turn will explain the developments of various beliefs, laws, and notions handed down to us in popular, secular or sacred literature with reference to woman or to Sakti and sacrifices in her honour (cf. para 81, 85). They will set right any injustice that may have been done unconsciously to either the man or the woman from magnifying the functions of either the Sanku or of the Light that gets associated with it—for sometime only as "shadow". We need not here pursue the matter except to point to the extreme significance of the growth of conceptions, with resultant practices.

2nd "K" The identity of Purusa with the Sanku has another important aspect. The Sanku is inclined to the pole-star always, head suppliant to Pole-star (and in which case, the left side would give out shadow cast by the sun in morning) and as such-I suggest-gives rise to the idea of continued devotion of Man to the regent god of the Pole-Star Dhruva-to a conception of Bhakti cult to that supreme deity.

The points of equinoxes then enter into this cult with the regent gods of the constellations at the Vernal and the Autumal equinox-in various ways-. The sage Nārada preaching Bhakti is none else than the Svāti-Arcturus-star whose description in the Vikramorvasiya (V, 19) of Kālidāsa is perfect even in point of time-of the moment of the Autumal equinox. This is with reference to the Sanku and Dhruva, vide article-" The Astronomical Data in the Dramas of Kālidāsa" (to be published)

There is another point of association. The Sanku is associated with the Sun for the day time and thus he is a friend and ally of Indra in various battles that he fights-through the measurement of Time, represented in Sanskrit dramas as the hero mounting the chariot of Indra.

(continued on next page)

'पुरिसोत्ति संकू पुरिससरीरं वा तत्र पुरिसाओ निष्फन्ना पोरिसी इति' (p. 126).

- of. Genesis II .3. "She shall be called 'Woman' because she was taken out of Man."
 - (L) Shadow on the solstice days :-
 "पौषे वितास्तिच्छायाऽथ यदि स्याद् द्वादशाङ्कुला

 तदा दिनस्य पूर्शन्द्वं मासे मासे ततः पुनः ॥ 1085 ॥

 द्वयोद्वयोरङ्कुलयोहांनिर्भाव्या ततः शुनौ ।

 मध्याद्वे स्याच तच्छाया खलमैत्रीव मूलतः ॥ 1086 ॥ यद्वापौषे दिनार्द्वेङ्कच्छाया पट्पादा हीयते ततः ।

 पक्षेकोद्विर्मासि मासि चाषाढे निष्ठिताखिला" ॥ 1087(p.p.136-7).
- (M) Pp. 102/104, verses 801-818 give the digits (out of 360) that are ommitted to adjust the civil luni-solar (354) days.

(continued from previous page)

Thus the "heroes" invariably bear the characteristics of the Śańku (where they are not of a stellar type) while the heroines are, the Light that alights and associates with it, in all early myths or religious literature or in classical literature based upon either of them.

3rd "K" On Agustyr:— The northern cardinal point is associated with the pole star whose regent god is Varuna. The enstern and western points are associated with Sun whose regent god is Indra. Thus the Sanku gets associated with all the cardinal points and their regent gods because the southern cardinal point is associated with Agastya who is (in old times) associated with the changes in seasons and with the Autumnal harvest. It is after rains in India.

Thus the calender gets involved with considerations of lores that arise out of Varuna, Indra and out of Agastya. The first two of the three have been recognised as great gods. The last one is recognised also as a great god but connected with the northern god Varuna-as Visnu in Vedic times and later on as an Avatāra, as Kṛṣṇa, and as Son of the Father in Heaven-as Christ-later on. It is not possible to dwell upon or to enlarge upon this aspect of religion in this paper but we may note that the revivification of earth at the Vernal equinox was associated with the Sun god; and the similar phenomena later at the Autumnal equinox (= harvest) came to be associated with Canopus-Agastya, giving rise to their deification and worship.

"L". This measurement of time (by the shadow the sun casts on the gnomon) makes it, in itself, exclusively a solar measure and a brake or a check upon the luni-solar calendar when discrepancies accumulate. The constellations are not visible at day-time. Hence its importance.

''युगस्यायप्रतिपद्श्चतुःपर्वन्यतिक्रमे । लभतेऽवमरात्रत्वमेकषष्टितमा तिथिः ॥ ८०६ ॥ आश्विनप्रतिपत् कृष्णा सा ज्ञेयास्यां यतोऽविशत् । तिथिद्वितीया सर्वोशैरेकषष्टिलवात्मिका ॥ ८०७ ॥ ज्योतिष्करण्डके तु—'तइयंमि ओमरत्तं कायव्वं सत्तमंमि पस्नांमे । वासहिमगिम्हकाले चउचउमासे विधीयंते" ॥ ८०८ ॥ इत्युक्तं

(p. 102)

This Prakrit text refers to equation of civil counting (360) to luni-solar counting (354).

"एवं च-आश्विनो मार्गशीर्षश्च माघश्चेत्रस्तथा परः। ज्येष्ठस्ततः श्रावणश्च पुनरप्येत एव षट् ॥ 811 ॥ पुनरप्याश्विनो मार्गो द्वितीयः पौष एव च। युगायर्द्धे पञ्चद्श मासाः सावमरात्रकाः" ॥ 812 ॥ etc.

(pp. 102-4.)

This explains the text of Kautilya in II, 6, 24.

"वर्षाहेमन्तग्रीष्माणां तृतीयसप्तमा दिवसोनाः पक्षाइशेषाः पूर्णाः"॥

THE GREEK ALPHABET

For the Star Maps and for Table - II

×	Alpha	t	Iota	Þ	Rho
B	Beta	κ	Kappa	b	Sigma
γ	Gamma	λ	Lambda	au	Tau
δ	Delta	μ	Mu	ν	Upsilon
€	Epsilon	υ	Nu	φ	Phi
ζ	Zeta	ξ	Xi	\boldsymbol{x}	Chi
η	Eta	o	Omicorn	\psi	Psi
θ	Theta	π	Pi	(a)	Omega

Lable

f each ion n-Jain)	बहा। वह्य वह वह अनेक्स्पाद आक्रेक्स्पाद आक्रेक्स्पाद अर्थाद्व अर्थाद्वि संस
Regent God of each constellation (Jain and non-Jain	Brahmā Viṣṇu Vasu Varuņa Alaikapāda AhirBudhnya Pūṣan Akvins (2) Yama Agni Prajāpati Prajāpati Soma Rudra Aditi Soma Aditi Soma
Equal spaces (non) completed.	0 - 42 42 - 176 176 - 310 310 - 44 444 - 578 578 - 712 712 - 846 846 - 198 980 - 1114 1114 - 1382 1348 - 1318 1348 - 1318 1382 - 1516 1516 - 1650 1650 - 1784 1784 - 1918 1918 - 2052 2052 - 2186 2186 - 2320
1) Lato I' spaces spaced. completed. laupenU (nial) sessegs	2 42 42 - 176 176 - 310 310 - 377 377 - 511 511 - 712 712 - 846 846 - 846 980 - 1047 1047 - 1181 1181 - 1382 1382 - 1516 1382 - 1516 1583 - 1784 1784 - 1918 1784 - 1918 1918 - 1985 1985 - 2 119 2119 - 2253
(nigl noV) laupH ot cos meteys eosqs	24.82.22.22.22.22.22.22.22.22.22.22.22.22.
Tooos seege -au of gaib eosge Isupe (aist).meteys	423 134 134 134 134 134 134 134 134 134 13
tellations	अभिजित अवण प्रानेष्ठा (अविष्ठा) रुवाभावपदा उत्तार भावपदा रेवती भरणी स्रानिका संग्रिका स्राहिणी
Names of Constellations नक्षत्र	Abhijit Sravaņa Dhanisthā (or Sravisthā) Satabhisā PūrvāBhādrapadā UttarāBhādrapadā Revati Asvati Bharani Kṛttikā Kṛttikā Kṛttikā Gor Mṛgaṣiras) Gor Mṛgaṣiras Punarvasu Pusya Āsleṣā Maghā
oM Isize2	111 111 111 111 111 111 111 111 111 11

Table I (Contd.)

Serial No.	Names of Constellations নমুস	ellations.	Roces accor on a gaib easaga lage (aist).metaya	(Non-Jain) acc. to Equal space system	to late T spaces sepage completed.	epaces.(Jisin) Equal spaces (mist-mon) completed	Regent Const Const	Regent God of each constellation Jain and non-Jain
0018888888888 018847888	UttarāPhālguņī Hasta Citrā Svāti Visākbā (cr Rādbā) AnuRādbā Jyestbā Mūla Purvā Āsādbā	उत्तराफाल्युणी हम्त विज्ञा स्वाति विशाखा (सधा) अनुराधा ज्युषा प्रजेषाहा	201 134 134 134 67 201 134 134 134	4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4 4	2253 - 245 2454 - 258 2588 - 272 2789 - 299 2789 - 299 2194 - 312 3124 - 319 3125 - 345	- 2454 2320 - 2454 - 2588 2454 - 2588 - 2722 2588 - 2722 - 2789 2722 - 2856 2990 2856 - 2990 3124 2990 - 3124 - 3191 3124 - 3258 3325 3258 - 3392 - 3459 3392 - 3526	Aryamā Savitr Tvastr Vāyu Indrāgn Mitra Indra Rāksasa Āpaḥ	अयमा सर्विट्ट विष्टु इम्द्राग्नी मित्र राक्ष्स आपः विश्वे देवाः
	Then repeat Abbijit etc. etc.	jit etc. etc.				-		

Data-(A) Cycle (Yuga), of 5 solar years, of 1830 solar days, of 1860 Digits (= 1860 Tithis), of 60 solar months, of 62 luni-solar months (-lunations), of 67 synodical (lunar completed circles). Ecliptic divided into 3660 spaces and into 28 constellations.

(B) Solar year of 366 solar days, the sun completing the spaces 3660.

(Continued on next page)

Table I (contd.)

- (C) Luni-solar year of $354\frac{12}{62}$ days (solar), of 12 luni-solar months each of $29\frac{32}{62}$ solar days or 30 digits. (Its 3rd and 5th year has $383\frac{44}{62}$ days (solar) and 13 months.
 - (D) Solar day of 30 Muhūrtas.
- (E) Starting point:—The Yuga, the first solar year and the first luni-solar year begin early morning, on the first day of the solar and luni-solar month Śrāvaṇa in its dark fortnight, when the sun has completed 46 spaces of the constellation Pusya, when the moon has completed o space of the constellation Abhijit, when the summer solstice begins and when the rainy season starts the preceding fortnight being the light half of the month Āṣāḍha.
- (F) Digit = Tithi is $\frac{61}{62}$ of a solar day, and the moon covers $131\frac{26}{31}$ i. e. $\frac{(61 \times 67)}{(31)}$ = i. e. $\frac{(61 \times 134)}{62}$ spaces during one digit or one tithi, while the sun covers $9\frac{52}{62}$ spaces in a tithi. In a luni-solar month, in 30 digits, moon will cover $3955\frac{10}{62}$ spaces (or, 1 circle and $295\frac{10}{62}$ spaces) and sun would cover $295\frac{10}{62}$ spaces. Moon would return to its position-which means it will complete $27\frac{42}{134}$ (solar) days when it would cover 3660 spaces in $27\frac{51}{67}$ digits.
- (G) Spaces:— The sun covers 10 spaces each solar day; the moon covers 134 spaces each solar day.
- (H) Solstice points:—Sun begins summer solstice in the 47th space of Pusya, and the winter solstice in the o space of Abhiji's.
- (I) Equinoctial points:— Sun is in the Autumnal equinox at the end of 23rd space of Svāti, and in the Vernal equinox at the end of 69th space of Aśvinī.
- (J) The sun covers 915 spaces from a solstice point to an equinox point or from an equinox point to the next solstice point. These points repeat five times in a Yuga.

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(K) The moon covers 3 circles (= 10980 spaces) and 1281 spaces (or 93 digits) from one solstice point to an equinoctial point. So too from that point to the next solstice point. She begins with a space of Abhijit at summer solstice at the commencement of the yuga. Her lunar stations at those four moments every year in a Yuga do not repeat but change necessarily.

(L) Malamāsa:-- An expurgated solar month of x days after some years as Kauṭilya informs us.



Table II For actual observations. See star maps.

(See Pillsi and Kaye and other books of reference mentioned on pp. 148-49 also p. 161).

1	Serial No. (names as per Table I)	Color of principal star	Probable no. of Stars.	Description as to shape.	Modern Astronomic equivalents.	Probable YogaTārā or Principal Star.
-	आभाजित्	Bluish White	က	Horn or head of a cow.	Alpha, Beta, Gamma of Lyra	A-Lyra (Vega)
•4	श्रवण	White	က	Lake or Balan- ced suspender.	Alpha, Beta, Gamma of Aquila	A-Aquila (Altair)
**	धनिष्ठा		5 (4?)	Cage of a	Alpha, Gamma, Delta, Beta, Epsilon of Delphin	
7	श्ताभिषा		100 (?)	Circle (?)	Lambda Aquarius and-XXXX-?	Lambda Aquarius
re)	पूर्वाभाद्रपद्।			3021	Alpha, Beta of Pegasus.	Alpha Pegasus
œ	उत्तराभाद्रपदा		~~	(Giant Equare)	Alpha of Andromeda & Gamma of Pegasus.	(Markab Alpha Andromeda (Alpherat)
~	रवती		33	Helm of a ship	51, 60, 62 Delta, Epsilon, Zeta, 83, Mu, 89 of Pisces, 35, 33, 26, 20, 13, 12 cf Cetus: also 44, 75, 77, 80, D of Pisces and 42, 43, 34, 39,	Zeta?
∞	आश्विनी		3 or 2	Neck or the head of a horse	25, 10 etc. of Cetus. Alpha, Beta, Gamma of Aries.	

Table II (continued from the previous page.)

An arrow. Alpha, 54, Delta of Cancril D-Cancri 10?) Hood of a Eta, Sigma, Delta, Epsil- Epsilon Hydra Serpent on, Zeta, Omega & Theta of Hydra. Rampart of a Alpha, Eta, Gamma, A-Leo (Regulu fortures (sickle) Zeta, Mu, Epsilon of Leo. Like a Theta, Delta, of Leo Beta, 93 of Leo. Palm of hand Delta, Gamma Ensilon Gamma Comm.	ow. Serpent rt of a s (sickle) ad	as to shape equivalents. or Principal Star. Measure Bowl 35, 39, 41 of Aries. 35 Aries.
An arrow. Alpha, 54, Delta of Can Serpent on, Zeta, Omega & The of Hydra. Rampart of a Alpha, Eta, Gamma, fortress (sickle) Zeta, Mu, Epsilon of L Like a Theta, Delta, of Leo Bedstead Beta, 93 of Leo Palm of hand Delta, Gamma, Epsilor with five finge- Alpha, Beta of Corvus. Es (or an axe)	3 An arrow. 5 (7? 10?) Hood of a Ser. 5 Rampart of fortrers (size a 2 2 { Like a 2 2 } Bedstead 5 Palm of ha with five fres (or an a	Form of a (fold. "Pleiades") ed) razor. (Like letter 'g') A toy-cart Alpha, Theta, Gamma, (Like-"V") Head of a deer Lambda, Phi 1, Phi 2,
	5 88 5 5	6 (7?) Form of a (fold."Pleiades") ed) razor. (Like letter 'z') 5 A toy-cart (Like-"V") Clike-"V") 8 Head of a deer Lambda, Phi 1, Phi 2, Crionis (Betelgeuse) 1 Drop of Blood Alpha, Beta of Gemini B-Geminorum (Pol-
White		

Table II (continued from the previous page.)

Serial No. (names as per Table I)	Color of principal star.	Probable no. of Stars.	Description as to shape.	Modern Astronomic equivalents.	Probable Yoga Tārā or Principal Star.
21 चित्रा 22 स्वाति	Biuewhite Bright reddish		Fine Pearl Coral like	Alpha Virgo Alpha Böötes	A-Virgo (Spica) A-Böötes (Arcturus
23 विशाखा	(golden) Yellow	4 (2:)	A wreathe	(Alpha, Bets, Gamma and lota of Libra	lota of Li bra
24 अनुराधा		4	Streak of water	Streak of water Upsilon, Beta, Delta, Pi, D-Scorpii	D-Scorpii
25 ज्येष्टा	Like a flower of Coral tree	ೕ	Earwear 'Kuṇḍala'	Sigma, Alpha. Tau of Scorpii	A-Scorpii (Antares)
26 मूल		Ħ	Tail of a Lion	Tail of a Lion Epsilon, Mu1-2, Zeta 1-2, Lambda Scorpii Eta, Theta, Iota 1-2 Kap- pa, Lambda and Upsilon	Lambda Scorpii
27 प्रवाषादा		4 (2)	Like tusk of	of Scorpii Gammal-2, Beta, Epsilon, D-Sagittarius	D-Sagittarius
28 उत्तराषाहा	name - anno anno an	4 (3)	an Elephant	Delta of Segutarius Phi, Zeta, Tau, Sigma of Phi of Sagittarius Sagittarius	Phi of Sagittarius

times supplemented from other observations. [See Kāye-as also see Pillai (S. K.) "Indian Ephemeries" Vol. Note: - Most of the description, colours and the number of stars are from the Jain texts which are at X (Introduction); -and personal observations. See maps] The Modern equivalents will show very nearly these constellations. The Yogatara are taken from several sources. They are not in the Jain texts as such.

Table III

- $D\iota'\iota: -(A)$ The months here are solar months of $30\frac{1}{2}$ (civil) days
 - (B) Starting point of the first month is on the 1st day of yuga) of the dark fortnight, of Śrāvana, early morning.
 - (C) See table I, for other data, 10 spaces mean one solar day.

					,	
Solar Month	Constellation unequal spation which the covers in on lar month (Copleted spation)	sces sun le so Com-	Total spaces	Season begins & con- tinues	Sign Stellar	Observations
I-Śrāvaņa श्रावण	पुष्य आश्लेषा मघा पुर्वाफालगुणी	88 67 134 16	නු (100 අනාය ක	Rainy auf	Cancer.	stice begins
	Total	305	305			
II-Bhādrapada (Prostha Pada)	पूर्वाफाल्युणी उत्तराफाल्युणी	118 187		15 H	Leo	
भाद्रपद (or प्रोष्टपद्)	Total	305	610		2	
III-Āśvin. (Āśvayujah). आश्विन् (or आश्वयुजः)	उत्तराफाल्गुर्ण हस्त चित्र(स्वाति	134 134 134 23		Autumn. शरत्	Virgo.	
_	Total	305	915			Autumnal
IV-Kārttika	स्वाति विशाखा अनुराधा	201 60		**	Libra	Equinox
कार्त्तिक	Total	305	1220			
V-Mārga शंत्रुक मार्गजीर्थ	अतुराधा ज्येष्ठा मूळ पूर्वाषाढा	74 67 134 30		Mid- Winter हेमन्त	Scorpic).
साम्याप	Total	305	1525			

Table III (Contd.)

I आवण etc.				Rainy etc.	Cancer etc.	
Then		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			Then	Solstice begins
आषाह	Total	305	366 0			The summer
XII Āṣāḍha		201 46		,,	Genini.	
ज्येष्टाम्होय) Total आर्द्रो	305 58	335 5		Gemini.]
Mūliya) ज्येड (or		9	0055			
XI-Jyeştha (Jyeşthā-	सुगर्गार्ष	162 134		Hot !	T a urus	
VI .I	Total	305	3050	TT 4 44	m	The second section of the sect
वैद्याख	छ तिका रोहिणी	134 39		,,		
X-Vaišākh	अश्विनी भरणी	65 67			Ari e s	Equinox
শ্ব	Total	305	2745			Vernal
IX-Caitra चेत्र	^{२वता} अश्विनी	69		400		
TV 0.4	उत्तराभाद्रपदा रवती	102 134		Vernal	Pisces	
फाल्यण	Total	:05	2440			
uņa	पूर्वाभाद्रपदा उत्तराभाद्रपदा	13 4 99	മക്കാ ദ	21		·
VIII-Phale		5 67	3 mi	2010	Aqua- rius	1
माघ	Total	305	2135			
VII-Magha	भ्रवण धनिष्ठा	134 129		श्चित्रस	OIL	
3777 3.6 a 1	अभिजित्	42		Winter. शिशिर	Capric- orn	Solstice Begins
VI-Pauṣa पीप	उत्तरापाढा Total	305	1830	Winter हेमन्त	arius.	Winter
	lar month(plated spa	Com-		tinues Mid·	Sagitt-	1
Solar Mont	Constellati unequal si which the covers in o	sun	TOPPI	Season begins & con-	Sign Steller	Observations

Table IV Data as of Table III.

Solar month	Non-Jain system constellation: completed spaces which the sun covers in a solar	month. Equal space system.	Total spaces.	Season begins & continues.	Sign Stellar.	Observations
I-Śrāvaņa	पुष्य आश्लेषा मघा	134 8		Rainy auf	Cancer	Summer sols tice begins.
	Total	305	305			
II-Bhādra Pada भाइपद् (or	मघा पूर्वाफाल्गुणी उत्तराफाल्गुणी	51 134 120	& M)2/	·0?"	Leo	
प्रोष्टपद्)	Total	305	610	10/		į.
III-Aśvin. (^A śvayujaḥ) आश्विन् (or आश्वयुजः)	उत्तराफान्गुणी इस्त चित्रा स्वाति Total	134 134 23 305	915	Autumn ara	Virgo.	Autumnal
IV-Kärttika. कात्तिक	स्वाति विज्ञाखा अनुराधा Total	111 134 60 305	1220	3 3	Libra.	equinox
V-Mārgasi- rsa. मार्गशीर्ष	अनुराधा ज्येष्ठा प् ल Total	74 134 97 305	1525	Mid- हेसन्त Winter	Scorpio	
VI-Pausa पोष	मूल पूर्वाषाढा उत्तराषाढा Total	37 134 134 	1830	,,	Sagit- tarius	Winter Solstice Begins

Table IV (Contd.)

Solar month	Non-Jainsy stem Constellations completed spaces which the sun covers in a solar	month. Equal space system	Total sp a ces	Season begins & continues	Sign Stellar	Observations
77TT 36- 1-	अभिजित्	$\begin{array}{c} 42 \\ 134 \end{array}$		Winter शिशिर	Capric- orn	
VII-Māgha	श्रवण धनिष्ठा	129		1911सर	Orn,	
माघ	वागठा	120				
नाव	Total	305	2135			
	धनिष्ठा	5		The second secon	Agnoria	
TITE TO -1	शतभिषा	134			Aquari- us	
VIII-Phālg-	पूर्वाभाद्रपद्	134	α m) α		us	
upa. फाल्यण	उत्तराभाद्रपदा	32	2 1100	100		
તાહજના		-70	പരവദ	n & W	S.A.	
-	Total	305	2440	المراجرين المجيورا	<u> </u>	
*** 0	उत्तराभाद्रपदा		•	Vernal	Pisces.	
IX-Caitra.	रेवती अश्विनी	134		वसन्त		
चेत्र	आश्वन।	69				
पत्र	Total	305	2745			Vernal
manufacture of manufacture and administration of the second	अश्विनी	65		<u> </u>	Aries.	Equinox
X-Vaiśākha.		134			Miles.	Equinos
22 (610,012,100,	छात्तिका	106				
वैशाख				"		
	Total	305	305 0			
XI-Jyestha	क्रात्तिका	28		Hot ग्रीष्म	Taurus	
(Jyesthā-	रोहिणी	134				
Mūliya)	मृगर्गीर्ष	134				
ज्येष्ठ	आद्रो	9				
(or ज्येष्ठामूलीय)	Total	305	3355			
	आर्द् <u>या</u>	125	0000		Gemini	[
XII-Aşādha	जाद्रा पुनर्वस	134			Gemilii	
Tara sadading	पुष्य	46		e:		
आषाढ :	• ;			"		mı c
	Total	305	36 60			The Summer
I Then				Then	Then	Solstice begins
			-	_	Cancer	поВтпр
श्रावण etc.				वर्षा etc.	e tc.	

ERRATA: STAR MAPS

Following errors which have crept in the star maps (in transcription for making blocks) need correction by the reader before the maps are used.

Map	No. Site-hours	Errors सुर्य	Corrections सूर्य	Correct as in map No.
		{ Canop अगस्य	us Canopus *अग्रन्य s.	4
2		सुर्य	सूर्य	
		सम्राटय	न्त्र संम्राद्यन	त्र
		Polar St	ar Pole S	tar 3
	अ ग रूय	Canopus	अगस्य*	Canopus 4
3	Ec	lipfic	Book Eeliptic	
	•	गिसष्ट	वासिष्ठ	4
		तत्पर्षि	सप्तार्षि	
	D	Vajor	Major	
	Z.	Aijar 💮	Mizar	
	Co	rvnus	Corvus	6
	В	oofes	Böötes	7
	व	ायु	(वायु)	
	Arc	eturus	Arcturus	* 7
4	Above दानवगण		हस्त	Put as in 3, to the
	the 5 stars			five stars (above
				दानवगण)
]	Ecliphi c	Eclipti	c
		Boofes	Böötes	7
		मरिची	मरीचि	3
	A	Atumnal	Autum	nal 3
5	XXIV	अहिर्चुद्भय	[अहिर्चुः	r] 8
	III Put D	ivine Da	प्रदिवस	

Map.	No. Site-ho	urs Errors	Corrections Correct as i	n map No.
6	VIII	Jeminorur	n Geminorum	
	••	सर्प	(सर्प)	3
	**	अदिती	अदिति	3
	X	मधा	मघा	
	XIII/XIV	(रुष्ट्र)	(त्यब्ह्)	3
	" "	Boofes	Böötes	7
7	XII	Corvis	Corvus	6
	XVII/XV	III-Put 🔭 bei	fore *v in milky way,	
			in tail of Scorpio.	
	XIX	आपः	[आपः]	
	11	आभाजित्	अभिजित् [ब्रह्मा]	
	$\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x}$	विष्णु	[विष्णुा]	
	XX/XX	I Put * & I	Delphin as in Map No. 8.	
	XIX	*k Vega	*k (=	
	11	*Lyra	*Lyra Vega	7
	XX	Put a third '	'γ to 'अवण' in Milky way	7
	I	Andrameda	Andromeda	5
	II	*अश्विनी	× *अश्विनी	5

SIAR MAPS

The 8 star maps (with corrections of errors on pp. 173-4) will be found as follows: Nos. 1-4 p. 133, No. 5-p. 118, No. 6-p. 136, No. 7-p. 126 and No. 8-p. 144. For the Greek alphabet see p. 161.

These maps will help students of Vedic literature and of all other Indian and non-Indian religious or semi religious literature to visualise the heaven with reference to various hymns and gods. They will bring out vividly the associations of seasons with (stellar) asterisms and their regent gods; their associations with seasons such as the Vernal and Autumn, with the Vernal equinox (maps nos. 8, 5), the Autumnal equinox (maps nos. 6, 7, 3, 4) and the Summer solstice (maps nos. 1, 2, 4, 6); their associations with the happenings in nature and in human life, with several phenomena of rainy season (map no. 6) and with the harvest (map no. 7), the sacrifices and other regulated activities of Autumn (maps. nos. 7, 6,). The old conceptions will be better understood with these associations.

Maps nos. 5-8 give the 28 Indian Zodiacal constellations and several other stars and star groups. Maps 3-4 give the Saptarsis, no. 6 the Hydra; map no 3 the Pole Star, nos. 4-6 star Sirius, the Dog, and nos. 4-5 the star Agastya-Canopus-A Argo Navis. The regent Gods are stated in brackets | | along with the asterisms.

The Hydra, the Vrtra-Ahi-the international Dragon, the Biblical serpent, the Dānava, the Rākṣasa and the Evil genius in various names and under various imageries in all lores will be seen (map no. 6) with the Vedic 100 "forts"—the Hundred "brothers' of the Mahābhārata and as the Rāvaṇa of the Rāmāyaṇa, spreading itself from the Summer Solstice to the Autumnal equinox, from the asterism Āśleṣā (embracing the Equator) the classical Rāhu, to its terminator the Svāti-with the grouping of Hasta and Citrā asterisms in this connection—and Saptarṣi (map No 3) with Canopus (maps nos. 4, 5). The last one is one of the mighty

forces which suppress this Evil and it is variously represented as Visnu, Kṛṣṇa, as Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa, as Hercules, to name a few of the Divinities and heroes figuring out of the grace of this star Canopus-Agastya.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute is to be congratulated for extending to the readers the facility of these maps. Without such materials at the disposal of the public, the remarks of Alberuni (para 38) would still persist.—The maps do admit of greater precision, refinement, improvements, coloring of some stars and various arrangements to help students for their astronomical studies. They have yet to be supplemented by authentic maps of the latitudes of Ujjain and Kashmir to show the position of heaven at the daily and at the heliacal rising and setting of several stars and star groups. For the present we have to fall back upon individual observations with all their shortcomings.

To convert the stellar value or better, the Light value into the Time value for human cravings and purposes, the Sanku-the Gnomon has to be looked to. Maps Nos. 1-2 will show it. For better illustrations see Kaye. More of this will be found in the "Vedic Gods: -V-RudraiKāli" in the coming number(s) of the Annals. Rudra as Śanku (and Sirius) with the "Kāli" as the Light in its most prime and modern form is pointed out therein. The laws of Manu and of Moses and of Yājñavalkya have grown around this Śanku, evolved out of continuity of thoughts and practices around this central figure.

KAVIDARPANAM

[A Prākṛta Treatise on Metres

By

PROF. H. D. VELANKAR. M. A.

पञ्चमोद्देशः।

अथोभयच्छन्दः।

विसमे छक्छा समे वसू । वेयालीयं रोखगा तओ । अद्वसु छळ्डू निरन्तरा । दुसुवि क्छा न समा पराखुगा ॥ १ ॥

[विषमे षट्कलाः समे वसवः। वतालीयं रा लगौ ततः। अष्टसु षट्ट लघवो निरन्तरा। द्वयोरपि कला न समाः परानुगाः॥ १॥

विषमयोः पादयोः षण्मात्राः समयारष्टौ इति मात्राच्छन्दोंशः ततो द्यारिप रगणो छघुर्गुक्रिति वर्णच्छन्दोंशः। इदं वैतालीयम् । अत्रापवादः । समाङ्गिक्रकलास्वष्टसु षट् लघवः संतता न स्युनंच द्योरिप समो लघुः परेण लघुन सह गुरुनं कार्य इत्यर्थः । अत्रीजाङ्गिष्ठपद्कलानां प्रस्तारे त्रयोद्श भेदास्तेष्टावि- हासका प्राह्या यथा । स्थापना । ॥ साकास्तु पञ्च यथा । स्थापना । ॥ पराश्चि- तसमकलाविकल्पाः साका इतरेत्वसाका इति पूज्याम्रायः। युक्पादाष्टमात्राणां प्रस्तारे चतुस्त्रिश्चेद्रदास्तेष्वसाका षोडश । षोडशभ्योपि संतत्रषट्लघवस्रयोपनी- यन्ते । तती जातास्रयोदश । तेत्र प्राह्याः। स्थापना ।साकास्त्वष्टादश । ते त्याज्याः स्थापना ।

तं चिय रगणंतसंठिए ये । तमुवच्छंदसयं वयंति बुह्वा ॥ २ ॥
[तदेव रगणान्तसंस्थिते ये । तद् औपच्छन्दसिकं वदन्ति बृद्धाः ॥२॥]

तदेव वैतालीयमोजयोः षड्भ्यो युजोरष्टभ्यः कलाभ्यः परस्य रमण स्यान्ते संस्थिते यमणे औपच्छन्द्सिकं वृद्धा वदन्ति ॥ २ ॥

आपातलिया भगणेणं । गुरुजुयलेण य अंतगएणं ॥ ३ ॥

[आपात्छिका भगणेन । गुरुयुगलेन चान्तगतेन ॥ ३ ॥]

11 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

वैतालीयमेवाङ्गिद्वये षडष्टकलाभ्यो भगणेन गुरुभ्यां चापातालिका ॥३॥ समपायकलातिगंतिमो । जइ गुरू उता होइ पच्चिया ॥ ४॥

[समपादक लात्रिकान्तगो । यदि गुरुः पुनर्भवति प्राच्यिका ॥ ४ ॥

समपादाष्टमात्रासु तिसृणां कलानामन्तगती गुरुः पुनश्चेद्विषमयोस्तु पाग्वच्चेत्तत्स्यात् प्राच्यवृत्तिर्भीमादिवत् प्राच्यिका । सा त्रिधा वतालीयपाच्यिका औपच्छन्दसप्राच्यिका आपातलिकापाच्यिका ॥ ४ ॥

> उद्दिचिया सा पतुच्चए। जिह समेसु मुहळप्परो गुरू॥ ५॥ [उदीच्यिका सा प्रोच्यते। यत्र समयोः मुखळपरो गुरूः॥ ५॥]

यत्रीजाङ्घिकलास्वायाल्लघोः परो ग्रुरः सा प्रोच्यते उदीच्यवृत्तिः । प्रादु-दीच्यिका । एषा प्राग्वित्विधा ॥ ५ ॥

> तहा दुण्ह पायसंकरो । पुन्वछंदयाणं पवद्वयं ॥ ६ ॥ [तथा द्वयोः पादसंकरः । पूर्वच्छन्दसां प्रवृत्तकम् ॥ ६ ॥

तथा द्वयोः पूर्वच्छन्दसोः प्राच्यिकोदि च्यिकयोरङ्गिष्ठसंकरः प्रवृत्तकं युजो-र्मात्रात्रयाद्वरुरयुजोस्त्वाबाह्यघोर्गुरुरित्यर्थः । इदमपि पाग्वत्त्रिविधा ॥ ६ ॥

> सन्वजुम्मपयजावरंतिया ॥ ७ ॥ [सर्वयुग्मपादजा अपरान्तिका ॥ ७ ॥

सर्वेषां वैतालीयोपच्छन्द्सकापातलिकापाच्यिकाछन्द्सां समपादैर्जनितः अपरान्तिका ॥ ७ ॥

अजुग्मजा चारुहासिणी॥ ८॥

[अयुग्मजा चारुहासिनी ॥ ८॥]

वैतालीयोपच्छन्दसापातलिकातदुदीच्यिकानां विषमाक्रिप्रजा **चारुहा**-सिन्ती ॥ ८ ॥

> असेसपायाइलप्परो । गुरू जिहं सा दाहिणंतिया ॥ ९ ॥ [अशेषपादादिलात्परः । गुरुर्यत्र सा दक्षिणान्तिका ॥ ९ ॥]

अशेषानां वैतालीयादीनां यथासंभवं सर्वेष्त्रङ्गिष्टवायाह्योः परो गुर्स्यत्र सा दक्षिणान्तिका ॥ ९ ॥ उभयछन्दःप्रकरणम् ॥

जं विसमक्खरचरणं ऊणाहियचरणयं व रूवयं ॥
तिविहे छंदीम इमंमि जयदेवाईहि ण भाणियं ।
तं सन्वंपि नेयं गाहाणामं वियहेहिं ॥ १० ॥
[यद्विषमाक्षरचरणं ऊनाधिकचरणं वा रूपकम् ।

त्रिविधे च्छन्द्सि अस्मिश्चयदेवादिभिनं भाणितम् । तस्सर्वमिष्ज्ञियं गाथानाम विद्रधैः ॥ १० ॥

यद्विषमाक्षराङ्गित्र न्यूनाधिकाङ्गिन्नकं वा रूपकं मात्रावर्णोभयरूपे निर्विधे छन्दस्यस्मिञ्जयदेवायैनोक्तं तत्सर्वमपि गाथारूपं विदग्धेर्ज्ञेयम् ॥ १० ॥ छन्दसां वर्णगुरुछपुसंस्थानयनकरणमाह—

> गुरुविजयाहिं अक्लरसंखा वण्णुज्झियाहिं गुरुसंखा । दुगुणियगुरुरहियाहिं छहुसंखा स्वयकछाहिं ॥ ११ ॥

[गुरुवर्जिताभिरक्षरसंख्या वर्णोज्झिताभिर्गुरुसंख्या । द्विगुणितगुरुरहिताभिर्छेषुसंख्या स्वयककळाभिः ॥ ११ ॥]

रूपकस्य यस्य कस्यापि छन्दसः कछाः संख्यायन्ते ततस्ताभ्यस्तस्यैव रूप-कस्य गुरवः पात्यन्ते चेद्वर्णसंख्या । वर्णाश्चेदुण्झ्यन्ते गुरुसंख्या । द्विगुणीकृता गुरवो-पनीयन्ते चेछघुसंख्या स्यात् । यथास्यामेव गाथायां सप्तपञ्चाश्चनमात्राभ्यः सप्तद्शगुरुष्टयपगमे चत्वारिंश्चर्णाः । वर्णान्यये सप्तद्श गुरवः । द्विगुणैर्गुरुभिश्चतु-स्विशनसंख्यैः पातितेश्चयोविंशातिर्छघव इति ।

इति कविद्र्पणवृत्तौ पश्चमोद्देशः॥

षष्ठोद्देशः ।

अह पत्थारी नहं उद्दिहं एगमाइलगिकरिया। संखा तहद्भुजोगो छंदामी छ पच्चया एए॥१॥ [अथ प्रस्तारो नष्टमुद्दिष्टमेकादिलगिकया। संख्या तथाध्वयोगो छन्दासी षद् प्रत्यया एते॥१॥]

अथानन्तरं प्रस्तीर्यते (इति) प्रस्तारो जातिवृत्तयोर्वित्स्तरान्न्यासः । नष्टस्य प्रस्तारभेदेभ्योऽदृष्टस्य जातिवृत्तभेद्स्यानयनं नष्टम् । उद्दिष्टस्य कित भो भेदाः प्रस्तारेष्टिति प्रश्नेनोपन्यस्तस्य जातिवृत्तभेद्स्यास्यानमुद्दिष्टम् । सर्वछघूनां सर्वगुरूणामेकादिछघूनामेकादिगुरूणां च जातिवृत्तप्रस्तारभेदानां ज्ञानाय करणमेकादिछघुगुरुक्रिया । जातिवृत्तप्रस्तारे भेदप्रमाणानयनं संस्या । जातिवृत्तप्रस्तारभूमिमानमध्वयोगः । छन्दासि षद् प्रत्ययाः प्रतीतिजननादेते स्युः ॥ १ ॥
तत्र जातिप्रस्तारमाह—

विसमाओ छहुयाई समा गुरू ठवहु उडुअहे य छहू। उवरिंव पुरो पच्छा पुव्वांवि हु जाइपत्थारो॥ २॥ [विषमा लघ्वादीः समाः गुरूत् स्थापय * * च लघुम् । उपरीव पुरः पश्चात् पूर्वविधिर्जातिप्रस्तारः ॥ २ ॥

विषमाश्चेन्मात्रा लघ्वादीः स्थापयत । विषममात्रासु प्रस्तार्यस्यादिभेदे प्राक् लघु स्थाप्य पुनः शेषमात्रा गुलभिः पूर्या इत्यर्थः । यथा पश्चानां मात्राणां प्राक् लघुः ततो गुरुद्वयम् । ऽऽ अथ समा मात्रास्ततो गुरूनेव स्थापय सममात्रासु प्रस्तार्यस्यादिभेदे गुरुभिरेव मात्राः पूर्या इत्यर्थः । यथा षण्णां मात्राणां गुरुत्रयम् । ऽऽऽ ततः समासु विषमासु च प्राक्कल्पस्थासु य आयो गुरुन्तस्याभो लघुं स्थापयत । ततः परं उपरिवत् स्थापयत । यत्रोपरि गुरुस्तत्राभन्तादापि गुरुर्यत्रोपारे लघुस्तत्राभस्तादापि लघुरित्यर्थः । पश्चात् प्रस्तारे पूर्वविभिः कार्यो विषमा अविश्वास्यमाणा लघ्वादिगुरुभिः समास्तु गुरुभिरेव पूर्या इत्यर्थः । यथा । सर्व × × यावदयं विभिरित्थं जातीनां प्रस्तारो ज्ञेयः । २ ॥

> जातीनां नष्टादींस्त्रीन् प्रक्रियागौरवादुपेक्ष्य संख्यामाह । एकच्चिय एगाए दुन्हं दुन्नेव तिन्ह तिस्रेव । अंतोवंतसमासो परन्तु मन्ताण परिसंख्या ॥ ३ ॥

[एँकेवेकाया द्वयोद्वें एव तिमृणां तिस्र एव । अन्तोपान्तसमासः परत्वं मात्राणां परिसंख्या ॥ ३ ॥]

एकस्या मात्रायाः प्रस्तारे एकैव संख्या । द्वयोर्द्वे एव संख्या । तिसृणां तिस्न एव संख्या । तिसृभ्यः परतश्चतुरादीनां मात्राणामन्त्योपान्त्यसमासः परिसंख्या । अन्त्यस्त्रिक उपान्त्यो द्विकस्तयोर्भेलनं पश्च चतसृणां संख्या । अन्त्यः पश्चक उपान्त्यस्तिक रतन्मीलनमष्टौ पश्चानां संख्या । अन्त्योष्टक उपान्त्यः पश्चकस्तन्मीलनं त्रयोद्श षण्णां संख्या । अन्त्यस्रयोदशक उपान्त्योष्टकस्तन्मीलनमेकविंशतिः सप्तानां संख्या । एवमूत्तरत्रापि । जात्यध्वयोगस्तु वृत्ताध्वयोगतुल्य एवोति नोक्तः ।

[इति कविद्र्णे षष्टोध्यायः । इति कविद्र्पेणं सवृत्तिकं समाप्तम् ।]

BRIEF NOTES

[Hema. = Hemacandra's Chandonusasana, N. S. P. edition, 1912.]

- I. 1. Com :— सुनिश्चितंनः etc. The stanza is by Siddhasena. See Hema. p. $1^2/11-12$.
- I. 4. Com:—- वंशस्थकादि॰ The stanza seems to be reproduced from Hena. p. 1^b/9.
 - I. 5. Com :— स्पृष्टं त्वयेति etc. See Hems. p. 1^b/14-16.
- I. 8. Com:— for the whole discussion of Yati, cf. Hema. p. 2^a/11ff.

II. 3. Com :-- बाहो बोहो etc. cf. Hema. p. 432/20ff.

मौक्तिकदाम is properly a Sanskrit metre with four lines, according to Hema. p. 7^b/19-20.

- II. 8. Com:— कमला ललिया etc. The same are quoted at Hema. p. 27b/15ff.
- II. 9. Com:-- एकैव भवति पथ्या etc. These seem to be reproduced from Hema. p. 28^b/1-3.
- II. 20. Com:-- द्विजातिजाः विकल्पाः etc. This is quoted from Hema. p. 26°8.
- II. 22. Com:— for हला, अधिकाक्षरा, मिक्जिरी and अराविन्द, cf. Hema. p. $32^a/1$; $33^a/8$; $32^a/9$; $32^b/10$. Obviously, Hemacandra does not consider these metres to be the 'derivatives' of पद्धिका; for the derivatives of खण्ड and मदनावतार, see Hema. p.31 $^b/18-20$ and $33^b/2-14$
 - II. 23. Com:— सब्बाउ वि जाईओ etc; cf. Hema. p. 35^b/1-2.
 - II. 25. Com :-- वंसो वित्तो o cf. Hems. p. 372/4-7.
 - II. 31. Com :-- एवं सप्तकलायै: o cf. Hema. p. 38b/8-18.
 - II. 32. Com :-- धवलामिहण o The stanza is from Svayambhū (IV.
- 36); but Hema. also quotes it at p. $37^{b}/4-5$.

उत्साहहेला and तैरेव both quoted at Hema. p. 382/7-8.

II. 33. Com :-- লা ৰন্যুঞ্জাত of. Hema p. 34b/8.

रासावलयस्य कुङ्कुमेन यथा etc. All examples that follow are obviously reproduced from Hema. p. 34b/9ff. I have not been able to understand some of them correctly; hence I have not translated them. The variants offered by Hema, are not very helpful. Our readings often seem to be better.

- II. 34. Com:— The example of প্রাথবন্ত is quoted from Hema. p. 37b/7-8 by the author of Kavidarpana himself.
 - II. 35. Com :-- केलिक्संभा ऊरू etc. quoted from Hema. p. 342/2-3.
 - II. 37. Com :-- उच्छलन्तस्यय quoted from Hema. p. 34b/14-17.
 - IV. 40. :- युधिष्ठिरोधर्ममयो , also quoted at Hema. p. 72/18.
 - IV. 103.: इन्त्रीसक्खर. This is=Svayambhū I. 140.
 - IV. 103. Com :- यत्किचिह्रस्पते o cf. Hema. p. 182/17.
- IV. 122. Com: -- Many of these illustrations are also found in Hemacandra; cf. p. 22^a, 22^b.

Index of the Prākṛta and the Apabhramsa metres in the Kavidarpana, Ch. II.

आहेला II. 21. अवदोहक II. 15. उत्साह II. 26. उद्गीति II. 9. उहाहक II. 17. उपगीति П. 9. उपचित्रा II. 20. उपदोहक II. 16. उल्लाल See कुङकुम and कर्पूर. कष्टवक II. 37. कर्पुर 11. 2. काव्य डिल्ड षटपट. कीर्तिभवल II. 32. कुम II. 2. खर्जक II. 23. खण्ड II. 22. गलितक II. 23. गाथा II. 4 to 8. गीति II. 9. घता II. 29 to 31. चन्द्रहेखा II. 24. चित्रा II. 20. चुडालदोहक II. 17. तरल (दोड + संदोह) II. 34. त्रिमक्ति II. 36, 37. दोहक II. 15. बिपदी II. 24.

द्धिभद्भी II. 35-37. पज्झाटिका II. 22. पञ्चाननलालेता II. 14. पादाकुलक II. 30. फल (मात्रा + उल्लाल) II. 33. महिला II. 21. मदनावतार II. 22. मलयमारुत II. 14. मागधिका II. 18. माजा II. 27-28 मात्रासमय II. 19. मक्तावली II. 21. मौक्तिकदाम II. 3. रङ्गा See वस्त. रास II. 14. रासक II. 23. रासाबलय IT. 25. बदन II. 21. वस्तु =रङ्का (माञ्चा +दोहा) II. 35. वस्तवदन II. 25. बानवामिका II 20. विश्लोक II. 19. श्रीधवल II. 34. षद्पद (वस्तुवद्न + उल्लाल) II. 33. संदोहक II. 16. सार्धच्छन्दम् See पद्पद. स्कन्धक II. 9.

APPENDIX

The following are the definitions of the various metres in Nandisena's Ajitaśāntistava, given by Jinaprabhasūri in his commentary on it. See Intro. p. 5. According to him they are from Kavidarpana. See last stanza. The verses are also edited by W. Schubring in Zeitschrift Für Indologie und Iranistik, 1923, p 182 ff.

गाथासन्दस्रहक्षणं चेदम्---

दिपदीखण्ड (खण्ड + खण्ड + गीति) II.36.

नेया मत्ताछंदे दुतिचउपंचछकला गणा पंच । बतिपंचअद्वतेरसभेदेला कचटतपनामा ॥ १ ॥ मुणि टा गुरु तत्थ न जो विसमे; छट्ठे उ मण्झका पहमे।
दूए उ दछंमि छहू छट्ठे सेसं समं गाहा ॥ २ ॥
दुइया छट्ठे पढमाउ सत्तमे छाउ कुणह उवरिदछे।
नछहुंमि पंचमे पढमयाउ इह तछदछे विरई ॥ ३ ॥
पंचमं छहु सन्वत्थ सत्तमं दुचउत्थए।
छट्ठं पुण गुरुं जाण सिछोगं बिंति पंडिया ॥ ४ ॥
विसमेसु दुन्नि टगणा समेसु पोटो ततो दुस्रवि जत्थ।
छहुओ कगणो छहुओ कगणो तं मुणह मागहियं ॥ ५ ॥
छहु दुगुरुटगणछक्कं सन्वेसु पएसु पढमतइयंमि।
दुचउत्थे जमियामिणं आर्छिगणयंमि छंदंमि॥ ६ ॥
छहुतगणचउगगुरुणो पायतिए छहुयतदुगटगणदुगं।
छहुतगणो पंतगुरू संगययं रइयअणुपासं॥ ७॥
गुरु छहुदुटगणपणगं गुरू य सोवायणं समपएहिं॥ ८॥

इदं हि षोडशाक्षरवृत्तं समवृत्तेषु संगतिमिति नामान्तरेण प्रतीतं तथा छन्द- श्च्हामणी श्रीहेमचन्द्रसूरिपादाः—शुगौ संगतम् ।

तचपतटदुगं तदुगं पो-टचउक्क-त-च-ततिगळहुगृरुगो। चदुटो चचउटचरुगं तचितिणि टएगदसय गुरु वेढो ॥ ९ ॥ टगणदुमं छहुगुरुणो टगणतिमं छहुगुरू य टगणितमं । दुसरिच्छं अंतपयं रासाईलुद्धयं छंदं ॥ १० ॥ पो तदुगं छहुगुरुणो टछकदुगुरूटसत्तछहुगुरुगा । पटदुतचगुरू नवटा दुलहुगुरूटचउदाग्रहगा ॥ टदुचग्ररुजुयं टतिगं दुलहुगुरू अवरवेदुओ छंदं ॥ ११ ॥ टदुळहुदुगुरू पढ़मे दुइए टदुळहुगुरू पए तइए। तुरिए टदुगं सगुरू रासाईनंदियं छंदं ॥ १२ त तटतटदुलहुदुगुरुआ आइदुगे तटतटतिगदुलहुगुरू। तुरिए तटतटज्ञयलं चगणगुरू चित्तलेहित ॥ १३ ॥ गुरुलहुचनवगनगणो चअहनगणो चअहनगणो य। दसचगणा तह नगणो चगणो गुरु दुनि नाराओ ॥ १४ ॥ सर्वगुरुगुरुलघुरूप एवात्र चगणो ग्राह्यः। विसमे कलाण छक्कं समेसु अडगं निरंतरं नहु तं। अंते रगणो यगणो कुसुमलय।नामछंदंनि ॥ १५॥ तगणी टगणी छहुगुरु पगणी टगणी य दुछहुगुरु दुइए। एवंचिय गच्छद्धं भुयंगपरिरिंगियं छन्दं ॥ १६ ॥ भरनभनगणलहुगुरू सव्वपएसुं तहा जई दसमे। सव्वंतक्खरजामियं छंदं खिज्जिथयनामं तं ॥ १७ ॥

टमणचउक्कं छहुगुरु पायतिए टमण्त्मणट्मणदुमं। लहुगुरु तुरिए जाणह लिलिययनामांमि छंदंमि ॥ १८॥ टप्पणगं जलहुगुरू पत्तेयं सत्तवीसमत्ताओं। किसलयमालाछंदं जाणह छंदंमि उद्दिदं ॥ १९ ॥ छहु चदुगटगणछहुगुरु तदुगं छगुरुपगणटछहुगुरुमा । चदुगं टगणी छहुगुरु तेरकछं सव्वओ सुमहछंदं ॥ २०॥ दुछहुगुरूदुछहुगुरू पत्तेयं विज्जुविलासियं छंदं ॥ २१॥ तदुटचडतटतातिमं छगुरुपटदुासि दुगुरुमा वेढो ॥ २२ ॥ पढमे टदुगुरु एवं सेसेसु टसत्तगुरुजुगं अंते। पत्तेयं बत्तीसं मताओं रयणमालाए॥ २३॥ पगणो टद्गं गुरुगो पत्तेयं खित्तयंमि छंदंमि ॥ २४ ॥ रनरलगा पत्तेयं खित्तयछंदंमि वा जाण ॥ २५ ॥ खित्तयछंदं चउपयजमियं दीवयमाङ्कि नाम ॥ २६ ॥ टप्पणगं दोश्विगुरू पढमं तुरिए य टछगगुरुएगो। दुतिए चउपयजामियं जाणह चित्तक्खरं छंदं ॥ २७ ॥ चगणेगारसगुरुगो चउद्सचगणा य नगण मोलस चा। टमणो चमणा तिश्विष अवरं नारायछंदमं जाण ॥ २८ ॥ दुछहुगुरू दुछहुगुरू गुरूय सब्वेसु नंदियं छंदं ॥ २९ ॥ तमणो पमणो तमणो टतटतटमणो गुरू पटद गुरुमा । बारसटमणासु जई भासुर्यं जाण अणुपासं ॥ ३०॥ तेरसचगणा नगणी नवचा नगणी य तीसचा गरुगी। चगणद्वारस एवं अवरं नारायछंदयं जाण ॥ ३१ ॥ चगणो टगणचउक्कं गुरू तहा ललिययं अवरं ॥ ३२ ॥

केचिव्छितकसित्याहुः तहःक्षणं च पादत्रये संवदित । न तृतीये पादे यदाहुः श्रीहेमचन्द्रसूरिपादाः—

पौ चौ तो गिलतकं यिमतेङ्को ! टचउक्के नवबारसलहुिंह सा वाणवािस्या होई ॥ ३३ ॥ अत्र ययापि छन्दश्च्हामणौ प्रथमटगणे जगणः प्रतिषिद्धोिस्न तथापि वृत्त-रम्नाकरे सामान्याभिघानात्तसद्भावोपि न दोषः ।

अडकल रगणो लहुग्रुरु सन्वेहिं तहावरंतिया होई ॥ ३४ ॥ किविद्र्षणमुपजीन्य प्रायेण छन्दसामिह स्तोत्रे । * स्वपरोपकारहेतोराभेदाधिरे लक्षणानि मया ॥ १ ॥

For the rest, see Peterson's Report, III. p. 231.

EPIC STUDIES'

BY

V. S. SURTHANKAR

V. NOTES ON MAHĀBHĀRATA COMMENTATORS

§ 1. Chronological Notes.

A necessary complement to a critical study of the Mahābhārata is an intensive study of the commentaries of the Mahabharata, of which there is quite a large number preserved still, mostly in manuscript form. Among the scholiasts who have written commentaries on the Mahabharata—either on the whole, or only on selected parts of the Great Epic-are: (1) Anantabhatta. (2) Arjunamiśra, (3) Ananda, (4) Caturbhuja (miśra), (5) Jagadiśacakravartin, (6) Devabodha, (7) Nilakantha, (8) Mahānandapūrņa, (9) Yajna-Nārāyana, (10) Ratnagarbha, (11) Rāmakimkara, (12) Rāmakrsna, (13) Rāmānuja, (14) Laksmana, (15) Varada, (16) Vādirāja, (17) Vidyāsāgara, (18) Vimalabodha, (19) Samkarācārya, (20) Šrīnivāsa, (21), Sarvajna-Nārāyana, and (22) Srstidhara. Very little is at present known about these commentators: only very few of them have been, so far, published. The only collective study made of these commentaries is by Holtzmann in Das Mahābhāruta, Vol. 3, pp. 67 ff., and that was in 1897, that is, nealy forty years ago. The material at his disposal was very scanty, and so are his notes.

But the study of these commentaries must be now taken up more seriously, not so much for the sake of the explanations contained in the commentaries—though even the glosses of a commentator like Devabodha are extremely important—as for the readings and pāthāntaras recorded in them; because, most of

¹ For the first instalment of the series, cf. JBBRAS (NS). 4. 157ff.; the following three have appeared in these Annals, Vol. 11, pp. 165-191, 259-283,; Vol. 16, pp. 90-114.—The substance of the present study (No. V) was communicated to the International Congress of Orientalists at Leyden in 1931.

^{12 |} Annals, B. O. R. I. |

the commentaries are older—some very much older—than our manuscripts; and therefore the documentation of these readings by the commentators takes us back a stage further in our investigation of the history of the epic.

The usefulness of these commentaries is, however, considerably diminished by the fact that we know next to nothing about these commentators themselves. In particular, we lack information about their dates, which are not easy to fix in Indian literature. Even if the dates cannot be determined, it would be a great help if we could fix their relative chronology. An attempt is made in the following pages to fix, to start with, the relative chronology of some of the more important Mahābhārata commentators.

A fixed point in the exegetical literature centering round the Mbh. is furnished by Nilakantha, who until lately was considered, at least in India, as the most trustworthy guide for the exposition of the Great Epic, and about whose date there is not much doubt. The available personal data about him has been put together by Wilhelm Printz in the biographical note on Nilakantha appended to his Berlin dissertation entitled Bhasaworter in Nilakantha's Bharatabhavidipa und in anderen Sanskritkommentaren. 1 Nilakantha, according to his own statements, was a Mahārāstra Brahmin of the Gautama Gotra, with the surname Caturdhara (modern Chaudhari), eldest son of Govinda Sūri and Phullāmbikā, residing at Kūrparagrāma (modern Kopargaon) on the Godavari. Nilakantha wrote his commentary on the Mbh. and on the Ganesagītā (a section of the Ganesapurāna) in Benares, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century,2 the latter (Ganesagītā) being composed in A. D. 1694.3

In the beginning of his commentary on the Mbh., Nīlakantha tells us that before writing his commentary, the Bhāratabhāvadīpa, he had compared many ($bah\bar{u}u$) copies of the Mbh., collect-

¹ Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, Vol. 44, pp. 69-109; see particularly p. 70 f.

² He was apparently a protégé of Anūpasimha, who was a contemporary of Shah Jahan.

The year of composition is given as Samvat 1750. The name of the commentary is Ganapatibhāvadīpikā. Cf. the name of his Mbh. commentary, Bhāratabhāvadīpa; see next note.

ed together from different parts of India ($vibhinnade\acute{s}y\bar{a}n$) in order to ascertain the correct reading ($p\bar{a}tham\ agryam$) and also consulted older commentaries. We accordingly find that he frequently mentions variant readings and "additional" passages found in the versions consulted by him, and he cites the explanations given by older scholiasts: information, scanty though it be, of immense interest and value for the history of the received text.

(i) Devabodha and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa.

In marked contrast to Nilakantha stands Devabodha, whom I regard as probably the oldest and therefore the most important commentator of the Mbh. He is extremely reticent about himself and his predecessors, but is cited or mentioned by several commentators, who must therefore have lived after him. One of such successors of Devabodha was Sarvajña-Nārāvana. Sarvajña's Bhāratārthaprakāśa has fortunately been preserved, though it is not definitely known whether his commentary on all the eighteen parvans of the Mbh. is now available. His commentary on the Virāta and the Udyoga has already been published by Mahadeva Shastri Bakre. The Bombay Government MSS. Collection (No. 180 of 1891-95) contains a fragment of his commentary on the Adi, comprising merely the first adhyava with the beginning of the second; while the Madras Government Collection (No. 2169) contains another fragment which lacks the beginning. In the colophon of the latter MS., Sarvajña is styled paramahamsa-parivrājakācārya; he was therefore a samnyāsin.

Now Sarvājā explicitly refers to Devabodha in the beginning of his commentary on the Udyoga:

उद्योगे देवबोधस्य वाग्वाडवमरा ापबन्तु कानदुर्ज्ञानवक्षोरक्तमहार्णवम् ॥

1

बहुन्समाहृत्य विभिन्नदेश्यान्कोशान्विनिश्चित्य च पाटमध्यम् । प्राचां गुरूणामनृमृत्य वाचमारभ्यते भारतभावदीयः॥

² Cf. my Adiparvan (Poona 1933), Prolegomena, pp. LXVff.

³ The Virātaparvan was published in 1915, and the Udyogaparvan in 1920, by the Gujarati Printing Press of Bombay.

Read (पंचन-बज्ञान° ?

This stanza is curiously enough not found in the commentary of Sarvajās as printed in the Gujarāti Press edition of the Udyoga, but occurs in both the MSS. of the work in the Bombay Government Collection (deposited at the Institute), bearing Nos. 33 of A 1879-80 and 168 of 1884-87 respectively. The priority of Devabodha is, however, independently established by another direct reference to Devabodha in the body of the published commentary itself, to which my attention was recently drawn by my friend and colleague Professor Sushil Kumar De of Dacca University, who is editing the Udyoga for the Institute. In Sarvajāa's comment on B. 5. 96. 41 (on p. 327 of the Gujarati Printing Press edition), we find:

देवबोधपादास्तु ।

कामकौधौ लोभमोही मदमानी तथैव च । मात्सर्याहंकृती चैव कमोदेते उदाहताः ॥

इति । केचिनु काकुद्मीकं युधिष्टिरं।

This quotation can unfortunately not be verified; for in the very old Bengal Asiatic Society's palm-leaf MS. (No. 3399) of the unpublished commentary on the Udyoga by Devabodha the corresponding folio is missing! But there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

This establishes Devabodha's priority to Sarvajña. We therefore get

Series 1: Devabodha-Sarvajña

Now this Sarvajña-Nānāyaṇa must be identical—as has indeed been assumed by Jolly, Bühler, Holtzmann, and others with the Sarvajña-Nānāyaṇa (also called Nānāyaṇa-Sarvajña), the author of the Manvarthavṛtti or Manvarthanibandha, a

¹ This important passage was verified by me in a MS. of Sarvajña's commentary deposited at the Institute, namely, Bombay Government Collection No. 33 of A 1879-80 (fol. 194°.

² Tagore Lectures, p. 11; passage cited in Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue, p. 126. Cf. also Recht und Sitte, p. 31.

The Laws of Manu, S. B. E., vol. 25, p. exx.

⁴ Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile, Kiel 1894, 3. Band, p. 71 f.

¹ Cf. Kane, History of Dharmasastra, Poona 1930, vol. I, pp. 157, 708.

well-known commentary on the Manusmrti, published by V. N. Mandlik. The assumed identity of the two commentators at present rests, it is true, merely on the identity of the names, but can scarcely be regarded on that account as doubtful. It is hardly conceivable that there were two different Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇas, both commentators of well-known works on Dharmaśāstra like the Mahābhārata and the Manusmrti.

The date of Sarvajāa has been fixed on the basis of certain quotations.² Bühler cautiously remarks that Sarvajāa-Nārāyaṇa "cannot have written later than in the last half of the fourteenth century," ³ but the recent researches of Kane tend to show that Sarvajāa flourished between A. D. 1100 and 1300.⁴

(ii) Arjunamiśra.5

Both Devabodha and Sarvajña are mentioned and cited several times by the Bengali commentator Arjunamiśra, the manner in which Arjunamiśra refers to Devabodha suggesting that in his time Devabodha's commentary possessed an established reputation. These references are as follows:

(a) In the foreword to his scholium (Bombay Govt. Coll. No. 30 of A 1879-80 = Da¹ of the Critical Edition), Arjuna pays homage to his predecessors, citing by name several of them. Devabodha, he mentions with special reverence, whose commentary (among others) he had carefully studied before writing his own commentary on the Mbh:

बेदन्यासवैशंपायनदेवबोधविमलबोधसर्वज्ञनारायणशाण्डिल्यमाधवपितृभ्यां नमः । श्रीदेवबोधपादादिमतमालोक्य यन्ततः । क्रियतेऽर्ज्जनमिश्रेण भारतार्थप्रदीपिका ॥

Worth noting is the fact that in the long series of names of Bhāratācāryas cited by Arjuna at the beginning of the above extract, the first four names Vyāsa and Vaisampayāna, Devabodha

¹ Mānava-Dharma-Śāstra, Bombay 1886.

² Cf. R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Skt. MSS. for 1883-84, p. 62,

L Buhler, op. cit. p. cxxix.

⁴ Kane, op. cit. p. 157.

⁵ See also my paper on Arjunamiśra in the Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume, p. 565.

and Sarvajña have been recited in the correct order of precedence and chronology, a point to which we shall return in the sequel.

(b) Arjuna mentions the Ācāryas again in the list of his (immediate and remote) "Gurus", placing this time Devabodha at the head of the list, which ends with the name of his father, who (as we know from other sources) was a well-known reciter $(p\bar{a}thaka)^1$ of the Mbh.:

श्रीदेवबोधविमलबोधशाणिडल्यमाधवाः । नारायणश्र्यं सवज्ञः पिता च छरवा मम ॥

(a) In the short introduction which prefaces his commentary on the Virāṭa,² Arjuna twice mentions Devabodha, once to give expression to the high esteem in which Arjuna holds him and again to record his gratefulness to his illustrious predecessor:

बेद्व्यासमुखाम्भोजगालितं वाङ्मयासृतम् । संभोजयन्तं भुवनं देवबोधं भजामहे ॥

श्रीदेवबोधपादादितातोपदेशसेविना। क्रियतेऽर्जुनमिश्रेण विराटपर्वदीपिका॥

(d) Finally, while commenting on 1. 143. 34 (a difficult stanza, giving a fanciful derivation of the name Ghatotkaca), Arjuna mentions two readings, which had both won the approval of Devabodha:

शेषपाठद्वयं देवबोधपादिनी(sic)संमतम् । 3

These two readings are in fact mentioned by Devabodha: vide fol. 37b of the Baroda MS. of Devabodha's commentary on the Adi.

The above extracts taken together indisputably prove that Arjunamiśra was posterior to both Devabodha and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa. Adding the name of Arjunamiśra to Series 1, we get

Series 2: Devabodha-Sarvajña-Arjunamiśra.

Some faint light on the question of the age of Arjunamiśra is thrown by a dated MS. of Arjuna's commentary listed by the late MM. Haraprasada Sāstri in his Notices of Sunskrit MSS., Second

¹ See my "Arjunamiśra," p. 566.

² Gujarati Printing Press edition, p. 1 (right column).

३ Read देवबोधपादानां संमतम् ?

Series, Vol. I (Calcutta 1900), p. 298 (MS. No. 295). The late Mahamahopadhyaya reported that it was a carefully written palm-leaf MS. of Arjuna's commentary on the Moksadharma, called Moksadharmārthadīpikā, written in archaic Bengali characters and belonging, apparently, to Babu Saradaprasanna Ghose of Kelomal, Tamluk. The MS. gave the date of writing as Śaka 1456 (ca. A. D. 1534.)

I may here draw attention to some stanzas added by the copyist, which are to the effect that already at the time when the copy was made, correct MSS. of Arjuna's commentary were a rarity even in Bengal, the home of the commentator, which can only be explained by assuming, as pointed out already by Mahadeva Shastri Bakre that there was a considerable interval of time between the two. The stanzas I am referring to are:

पितुः सदुपदेशेन विद्वज्ञात्रनुरोधतः । प्राङ्गिबन्धस्य संशुद्धौ कृता यन्नोऽधुना मया ॥ अंत्र्याधीतीलिपिग्रन्थशुद्धाक्षरसमुख्यः । विद्वषां हेलया प्राच्यग्रन्थो नाशसुपेयिवान् ॥

The date Saka 1456 (ca. A. D. 1534) is then the lower limit of the age of Arjuna, but the date of Arjuna, if we rely on the information vouchsafed by the copyist, must be long prior to A. D. 1534.

(iii) Nilakantha.

We return to Nīlakaṇṭha, who is the next great Mbh. commentator, and who cites or mentions Devabodha, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa and Arjunamiśra, not indeed in the introduction to his commentary on the Mbh., where he mentions a number of his "Gurus", but elsewhere in the course of his well-known scholium. Here are the references.

(a) While commenting on 1. 158. 14, a stanza with numerous variants, Nilakantha cites an old variant of the entire stanza, mentioning Devabodha in that connection.

न नंहसाः शृङ्गिणो वा न च देवाञ्जनस्रजः । कुबेरस्य यथोष्णीष किं मां ससुपसर्पथ ॥

[!] The reference is given in the Gujarati Printing Press edition of the Virataparvan, Introduction, p. 6.

इति प्राचीनः पाठो देवबोधाविभिर्व्याख्यातत्वात् ।

It is worthy of note that Nilakantha regards the variant as ancient, owing to its having been explained by "Devabodha and others". He must therefore consider Devabodha as an ancient authority.

What Nilakantha regards as ancient is of course a matter for speculation. Nevertheless I do not think that Nilakantha would have used the word *prācina* in connection with Devabodha unless the interval between them was at least three or four centuries.

In passing it may be mentioned that this reference to Devabodha by Nilakantha is yet another instance of the practice of mentioning names of Acaryas honoris causa (pujartham). because the reading cited by Nilakantha is probably not that of Davabodha at all, who to judge by the lemmata in his commentary must have had before him a stanza differing from the corresponding stanza of the Critical Edition, merely in reading sakunah for kunapah of the Critical Edition (1.158.14). The third pads of the stanza as cited by Nilakantha is certainly the reading of the T G version, found otherwise only in three conflated N MSS., and in a fourth one written in the margin; while the last pada was found by me only in four MSS. (K2B3 M3.5) of my critical apparatus, one of them (B3) having as a matter of fact the reading of our text in the margin! It is therefore most improbable that Devabodha had commented on the particular variant version cited by Nilakantha, and it is really doubtful to me whether Nilakantha had at all Devabodha's commentary before him. Devabodha is referred to by Nilakantha merely as one of the ancient Acaryas.

- (b) While commenting on B. 7. 82. 2, Nilakantha notices a variant interpretation of madhuparkika given by Devabodha:
 सभ्यकिकाः मध्यकिसमये पठन्तीति देवशोधः।
- (c) Nīlakaṇtha's reference to Sarvajña will be found in his comment on B. 5. 40. 10 (Gujarati Printing Press ed., p. 131):

This passage was already cited by me in the Critical Edition of the Adiparvan, p. 666.

² Cf. ZDMG. Vol. 66 (1912), p. 541 f.

विषे लोहमिति सर्वज्ञः। स्वर्णनाभः शालग्रामः। दक्षिणावर्तः शङ्क इति नारायणः। and again in the same adhyāya, a few stanzas further on (B. 5. 40. 26), we find:

परिसंस्तीर्याग्नीत् परिस्तरणैः । एतेनाग्निहोत्रमुग्लक्षयतीति नारायणः। परिसंस्तीर्य बितत्य । स्वे स्वे स्थाने आधायत्यर्थः।

A reference to Sarvajña's commentary printed in the same work (p. 131 f.) will show that all these explanations do as a matter of fact occur in the commentary of Sarvajña, while they are not met with in any of the three other commentaries printed there.

(d) For Nīlakaṇṭha's mention of Arjunamiśra, I may draw attention to Nīlakaṇṭha's comment on B. 3. 291. 70, a stanza at the end of the Rāmopākhyāna, where he mentions various explanations of the word $j\bar{a}r\,\bar{u}thya$, among them the one given by Arjunamiśra, whom he mentions by name:

जारूथ्यान त्रिगुणदक्षिणानिति अर्जुनिमश्रः।

These various extracts establish the posteriority of Nilakantha to Devabodha, Sarvajña-Nārāyana and Arjunamisra. Adding Nilakantha to Series 2, we get

Series 3: Devabodha—Sarvajāa— Arjunamišra—Nīlakantha.

It will be remembered that as each member of this series of four names clearly cites one or more of his predecessors, this is a chronological sequence whose correctness is absolutely incontrovertible.

(iv) Vimalabodha.

There is moreover a subsidiary series connected with a Mbh. commentator called Vimalabodha, to which we shall now turn our attention.

It will be recalled that in the excerpts given above from the commentary of Arjunamisra, the commentator twice mentions Vimalabodha in close proximity to Devabodha. Therefore it is evident that Arjunamisra is posterior to Vimalabodha, whose commentary (tikā) variously known as Durghatārthaprakāśinī

¹ See Holtzmann, op. cit. vol. 3 p. 72.

^{13 [}Annals. B. O. R. I.]

or Visamaśloki has fortunately been preserved. In the introduction to this unpublished commentary, a copy of which is to be found in the Bombay Government Collection (No. 84 of 1869-0), while speaking of his predecessors, Vimalabodha says (fol. 1):

निघण्टुभाष्यानिगमानिरुक्तानि विशेषतः। वैशंपायनटीकादि देवस्वामिमतानि च। वीक्ष्य व्याख्या विराचता दुर्घटार्थप्रकाशिनी ॥

Again while giving the etymologies of the name of the Sūta, Loma (or Roma) harṣaṇa, Vimalabodha observes (fol. 2):

पश्यतां सुनीनां अतिविस्मयमुत्पादितवान इति लोमहर्षणनामाश्चदिति देवबोधपादा भाहुः।

Undoubtedly the Devasvāmin mentioned in the first excerpt is the same as the Devabodha (who in the colophons of his commentary is styled paramahamsa-parivrājakācārya) in the second. Incidentally it may be pointed out that the etymology of Loma-(or Roma) harṣaṇa mentioned by Vimalabodha is actually to be found in Devabodha's scholium. In the Baroda MS. (11372) of the unpublished commentary of Devabodha, we read (fol. 3 b, line 1 f.):

पद्यतां मुनीनामतिविस्मयात् रोमाञ्चमुत्पादितवानिति लोमहर्षणनामाभूत्।, which substantially agrees with the excerpt in the commentary of Vimalabodha.

Since Arjunamiśra mentions Vimalabodha, and Vimalabodha cites Devabodha, we get a subsidiary series, namely.

Series 4: Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Arjunamišra.

Thus far we have been treading on solid ground and the correctness of Series 1-4 is, as far as I can judge, absolutely unimpeachable.

In trying to combine Series 3 and 4, however, there arises the difficulty that no cross reference has hitherto been found in the works of Vimalabodha on the one hand and Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa on the other. Their relative chronological position is, therefore, a matter for speculation. It is possible, however, to combine the two series tentatively, on the equivocal testimony of Arjunamiśra, which we shall proceed to examine more closely.

In one of the lists of the Ācāryas cited by Arjunamiśra, we have the sequence: Veda-Vyāsa, Vaisampāyana, Devabodha, Vimalabodha, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa, Śāṇḍilya Mādhava. Here the first two pairs, as was pointed out above, have been named in the correct chronological order, the earlier author being placed first, in conformity with the rule governing the sequence of the members of a Dvandva compound (P. 2.2.34 Vā.). Devabodha is, as we have seen, prior to Vimalabodha as surely as Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Great Epic, is prior to Vaisampāyana. Further in both lists the father of Arjunamiśra is mentioned last. These facts suggest the surmise that the whole series is arranged in the strict chronological sequence. If this surmise be correct, then Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa would be posterior to Vimalabodha, and we get, tentatively, the sequence: Vimalabodha-Sarvajña.

It may, however, be noted that such names are often found arranged on the diametrically opposite principle of uttarottara-garīyastra, i. e., naming the more important persons later, which is however not admissible in the particular instance; or even arranged on no principle at all; or at least on some principle which it is difficult for us to comprehend. In fact a subsequent enumeration of these same Ācāryas by the same Ārjunamiśra is in partial conflict with the earlier list! There the sequence (already given above) is Devabodha, Vimalabodha, Śāṇḍilya Mādhava, Nārāyaṇa-Sarvajña. Here Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa has been placed after Śāṇḍilya Mādhava, while in the former list he is placed before them! This irregularity apart, the lists tally with each other.

It is not, however, impossible to resolve this contradiction and harmonize the data. There is a notable difference between the two lists. The first one is in prose, the second is an anustubh stanza. I am disposed to attach more importance to the sequence of the prose enumeration, and to regard the change of sequence in the other as due to the exigencies of metre. The first again is a formal expression of homage ($namaskriy\bar{a}$), where the principle of priority has been, it seems, rigidly observed; on the other hand, the second is merely a collective metrical list of the author's "Gurus," where the consideration of rank and precedence did

not perhaps prevail so much. I may also point out that the first list is in the form of a Dvandva compound, while in the second the persons have been all *independently* mentioned. If these considerations have any value, then we may postulate, at least tentatively, another series,

Series 5: Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Sarvajña-Arjuna-Nilakantha,

where the relative position of Vimalabodha and Sarvajña alone is open to doubt.

Of these five commentators, as was mentioned above, Sarvajās could not have lived later than the latter half of the fourteenth century and flourished probably between A. D. 1100 and 1300; while Arjunamiśra lived some time prior to A. D. 1534. Moreover, if the position assigned in Series 5 to Sarvajās be correct, then both Devabodha and Vimalabodha must have lived long prior to A. D. 1300.

§ 2. What was Devabodha's version of the Mahābhārata like?

The only commentary of the Mahābhārata completely printed so far is the Bhāratabhāvadīpa by Nīlakantha The Gujarati Printing Press of Bombay has done, however, inestimable service to the cause of Mahābhārata studies by publishin; other commentaries at least on the Virāta and Udyoga, edited by Mahadeva Shastri

I Since the above was written, two efforts have been made to fix the date of Arjunamiéra. Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh (Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 706 ff.), working on the data supplied by certain ancient pedigrees preserved in Bengal, arrives at the date ca. A. D. 1300 for Arjunamiéra; but it may be pointed out that the method of fixing precise dates on the basis of pedigrees alone never gives entirely reliable results. On the other hand, Mr. P. K. Gode of the Bhandarkar Institute (Indian Culture, Vol. 2, p. 141 ff.), relying on his identification of the Satya-Khāna, who was a patron of Arjunamiéra (see Sir J. J. Modi Commemoration Volume, p. 566), argues for a date between A. D. 1450 and A. D. 1500 There is thus a difference of about 200 years between the two computations. But the matter is still sub judice, and more light on the question may be expected from further investigation of the question which is being carried on by these two scholars.

² See further the Appendix at the end of this paper (below, p. 202).

Bakre. The Virātaparvan Volume (published in 1915) contains, besides (1) the Bhāratabhāvadīpa the commentaries of (2) Arjunamisra, (3) Caturbhuja, (4) Vimalabhodha, (5) Rāmakrsna, (6) Sarvajña-Nārāyana and (7) Vādirāja, as also a commentary called (8) the Visamapadavivarana of unknown authorship. The Udyogaparvan Volume (published in 1920) includes. on the other hand, besides (1) the Bhāratabhāvadīpa, the commentaries of (2) Arjunamiśra, (3) Vimalabodha, (4) Sarvajña-Nārayāna and (5) Vādirāja. A commentary more important than any of these and one more neglected still is the Jñanadipikā of Devabodha. Until recently nothing was in fact known about Devabodha or his commentary on the Mahābhārata save what is contained in perfunctory notices of Sankrit MSS., which has been summarized in Holtzmann's meritorious work Das Mahābhārata (Vol. 3, section 14, para 3, p. 70 f.). A selection of Devabodha's readings and glosses was for the first time published by me in the critical notes of the Adiparvan Volume.2

I have shown in the previous section that Devabodha is indubitably earlier than Nilakantha, Arjunamiśra, Sarvajña-Nārāyana or even Vimalabodha, and is therefore in all probability the earliest commentator of the Mahābhārata hitherto known. It is therefore needless to add that the commentary is most valuable and its evidence, both positive and negative, of supreme importance for the constitution of the text.

The MS. of the commentary (which is unaccompanied by the epic text) utilized by me for the Adi belongs to the Baroda Central Library (Sanskrit Section) and was kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Director of the Oriental Institute of Baroda, to whom my sincere thanks are due for the kind loan.³ This paper MS. which bears the identification No. 11372, contains the commentary on Adi only and is written in

[!] Vādirāja's commentary on the Sabhā has been published by Prof. P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri as an Appendix to his edition of the Sabhā according to the Southern recension (Madras 1932). For Vādirāja's date see further below (pp. 203-210) the note on the subject by Mr. P. K. Gode.

² See also my Prolegomena, p. LXX.

² There is another MS. of the commentary in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which was also consulted by me.

Devanāgarī characters of about the seventeenth century. The bulk of the MS. is in a fair state of preservation, though in many places the text is extremely corrupt. In our MS. the name of the commentary is given as Jňānadīpikā; but, according to Holtzmann (cp. cit. Vol. 3, p. 71), it is also known as Mahābhāratatāparyaṭīkā or tātparyadīpikā. MSS. of this commentary are rare, and no complete copy has yet been found.

In the colophon the author is described as paramahamsa-p:ri-vrājaka. He must therefore have belonged to an order of Samnyāsins. The name of his Guru is given as Satyabodha. This is all the personal data we have at present about Devabodha.

The Jñānadīpikā is a concise tīkā, that is, a running commentary paraphrasing the difficult words of the epic text and occasionally explaining the gist or purport (tālparya) of the original. The extent of the text of the commentary on the Ādi is given at the end of our MS. as 1400 granthas.

The homage which Arjuna pays to Devabodha in the Introduction to his scholium is by no means a matter of mere form. Arjuna appears to have made a very close study indeed of the scholium of Devabodha, and based his own commentary, on the Adi at least, largely on that of his predecessor. He has copied very large portions of Devabodha's commentary, sometimes verbatim, sometimes in extracts. Moreover, even when the commentators differ, the influence of Devabodha is plainly discernible. In fact, Arjuna's Arthadīpikā may be considered, as I have remarked elswhere, as a revised and enlarged edition of Devabodha's Jāānadipīkā. Unlike the commentary of Nīlakaṇṭha, that of Devabodha is unaccompanied by the epic text. The question, therefore, naturally arises what was Devabodha's text like?

When we read the commentary along with any of the old printed editions of the Mahābhārata, like the Calcutta or the Bombay or the Kumbhakonam editions, we are at once struck by the singular disparity between the text and the commentary. Not only does Devabodha's commentary contain many words or expressions which do not occur at all in the Vulgate, but it also cites, at times, verses or stanzas which read differently in the

Adiparvan, Prolegomena, p. LXX.

Vulgate One also comes across passages and even adhyāyas of the Vulgate on which one expects some comment but which are left wholly uncommented by Devabodha.

The Southern recension may be categorically ignored in our search for the prototype of Devabodha's commentary, as this commentator does not know even a single one of the many passages peculiar to the Southern recension. He further does not show the typical Southern transposition of the Śakuntalā and Yayāti episodes, nor the characteristic position of the prose genealogical adhyāya (called Pūruvamśānukīrtana), after the chapter containing the eulogy of the epic (Bhūratapraśamsā).

The vulgate (with the Bengali) may likewise be excluded. It agrees with Devabodha's text up to a certain point; but the divergences, which are numerous, remain inexplicable. There remain then only the Śāradā and the "K" versions. And with them, the version of Devabodha does, as a matter of fact, show very close affinity.

It is worthy of note that Devabodha has no commentary on any of the six adhyāyas of the Vulgate which are completely missing in the Sāradā and the K MSS, and which have also been completely omitted in the Critical Edition of the Ādi. They are the following adhyāyas of the Vulgate: (i) adhy. 22 (duplicate description of the ocean); (ii) adhy. 24 (Aruṇa is appointed charioteer of the Sun, an evident digression and interpolation); (iii) adhy. 116 (birth of Duḥśalā: a fairy tale of questionable authenticity); (iv) adhy. 139 (an absurd chapter describing further exploits of the Pāṇḍavas and containing a reference to Yavana kings); (v) adhy. 140 (Kaṇikanīti); and finally, (vi) adhy. 149 (Pāṇḍavas' crossing of the Ganges, a passage of doubtful value).

But on principle, we cannot attach very great importance to such omissions, as a commentator is apt to skip in the Mahābhārata any adhyāya which he thinks too simple to need any comment. This explanation will apply to most of the omissions mentioned above, but will not hold good in the case of the Kaṇikan'ti, an adhy. of 140 stanzas, which has evoked lengthy comments from both Arjunamisra and Nilkantha; we expect some comment on this adhyāya by a commentator like Devabodha.

Much more important from our point of view is an addition characteristic of the Kaśmiri version. This version adds at the very end of the Ādi a supplementary (and entirely superfluous) adhyāya, which contains merely a variant version of the well-known Puranic tale of Śvetaki's sacrifice, occurring earlier in the course of this very parvan, and which was known to Ksemendra. Curiously enough the king who is called Śvetaki in tha first version is here called Śvetaketu! That the version of Devabodha contained this interpolated (supplementary) adhyāya is proved by the concluding remark of Devabodha on this adhyāya (fol. 48):

श्वेतकिरेव श्वेतकेत्ररिति नाम ।

This remark, as I have pointed out elsewhere, will not apply to any version which did not have the supplementary adhyāya containing the story of Śvetaketu, which in fact is peculiar to the Śāradā and the K versions. These facts demonstrate that the version of Devabodha agrees with the Śāradā and K versions with respect to both addition and omission of whole adhyāyas.

The conclusion regarding the affinity between the two versions is fortified by many minor agreements in point of shorter passages and even readings of individual stanzas.

For example, Devabodha has no comment on any portion of the Brahmā-Ganeśa episode (40 stanzas in the Vulgate), which is missing in its entirety only in the Kasmiri and the Bengali versions. Again, for 1. 105. 4-7 of the Critical Edition the Vulgate substitutes a lengthy passage of 56 lines, which is entirely ignored in the commentary of Devabodha, who on the other hand cites ?ab (a line not known to the Vulgate), in exact agreement with the Sarada and K versions (besides the Southern recension), but in direct opposition to the Bengali and the Devanāgarī versions. In connection with the omission of adhy. 139-140 of the Vulgate mentioned above, the Sarada and K versions omit the first 19 stanzas of the following adhyaya (namely, adhy. 141 of the Vulgate). In conformity with that, the first 19 stanzas of adhy. 141 are ignored completely in the scholium of Devabodha. It may be noted that the omission of adhy. 139-140 together with the first 19 stanzas of adhy. 141 of the Vulgate

makes an aggregate and continuous omission of 139 (=27+93+19) stanzas of the Vulgate, a not inconsiderable portion of the text. Likewise there is no commentary on nearly 70 stanzas of adhy. 128 and 129 of the Vulgate, which are omitted only in the Sāradā-K group and the Critical Edition.

This affinity is further borne out by agreements as regards minor readings too numerous to mention.

These considerations make it, in my opinion, perfectly clear that the version of Devabodha is closely allied to the Śāradā and the K versions.

Though the Śāradā version and what I have called the "K" version run for the most part parallel to each other, there are in fact minor discrepancies between the MSS. of these versions, which indicate different sources. But as, on the one hand, we have for the Adi a solitary MS. (\dot{S}^{1}) of the genuine Śāradā (or Kaśmīri) version, and on the other hand we do not know the provenance of the Devanāgarī MSS. which I have denoted by the symbol "K" (on account of their affinity to the version of Kaśmīr), it is at this stage not easy to explain these discrepancies between Śāradā and K. It would be also premature to say whether Devabodha's version was more akin to Śāradā or the K version.

gests to my mind an affinity with K rather than with the Śāradā version. In 1. 68. 72 the text reading is asatyavacanā nāryah (nom. plu.), "women (are) perfidious," a general statement. Only K^{1,2} B¹ (m as in text) have, on the other hand, asatyavacane 'nārye (voc. sing.), "O thou perfidious (and) dishonourable (woman)!" Ko. 4 appear to have corrupt forms of the same. The vocative appears to be, therefore, peculiar to the K version, which differs here from the Śāradā, and which latter has the nom. plu. as in all other MSS. Now in agreement with K, Devabodha has anārye=vakre! One instance of an agreement like this is, I will readily admit, wholly inadequate to prove the point. It can only give an indication and may perchance give wrong indication. The question may, therefore, be left over for future investigation.

APPENDIX.

List of five major Mahābhārata commentators arranged according to the probable chronological sequence, with the names of their commentaries, approximate date, and sundry data about them.

No.	Commentator	Commentary	Age	Remarks
1	Devabodha	Jñānadīpikā, Mbhtātparya- tīkā, Tātparyadīpikā		Samnyasin; pupil of Satyabodha, men tioned or cited by Vimala, Arj., Nil.
2	Vimalabodha	Visamasloka- tīkā, Durghatārtha- prakāsini, Durbodhapa- dabhañjini	2010	Mentions Vaisam- pāyana's Tikā and cites Devabodha (once as "svāmin).
3	Sarvajña Nārāyaņa	Bhāratārtha- prakāśa	Ante 1300	Mentions Dev. and is cited by Arj. and Nil., as also by a lexicographer Rāyamuku‡a.(A. D. 1431).
4	Ar ju namiśra	Mahabhāratār- tha(pra)dīpikā, Bhāratasam- grahadīpīkā	Ante 1534	Mentions Dev., Vimala, S. Nārāyņa, Śāṇḍilya Mādhava. Belongs to Eastern (or Gauda) school. Cited by NIl. One MS. of his comm. dated Saka 1456 (=ca. A. D. 1534).
5	Nilakantha Caturdhara	Bhāratabhāva- dīpa.	ca. 1700	Maharāstra Brahmin. Son of Govindasūri and Phullāmbikā, resident of Kopargaon on the Godavari. Mentions Dev., S. Nārāyaṇa, Arj. Ratnagarbha and others

¹ For Arjunamisra's date, see also Mr. J. C. Ghosh's recent paper in *Indian Culture*, vol. 2 (1936), pp. 585 ff.

Prof. P. P. S. SASTRI, AND THE DATE OF VADIRAJATIRTHA

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

Prof P. P. S. Sastri, in his Introduction to Vol. III. (Sabhāparvan) of the Southern Recension of the Mahābhārata, p. xi. makes the following remarks about the date of Vādirājatīrtha and his commentary on the Mahābhārata:—

"Reference has already been made to the Lakṣālamkāra of Vādirāja, the contemporary of Vāgīśatīrtha, one of the apostolic successors of Ānandatīrtha the great dualistic philosopher. Vādirāja died in * 1261 Śaka or 1339 A. D. (Vide R. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Vol. II, p. 7 1.) The Lakṣālamkāra is very valuable as it may possibly turn out to be the earliest dated commentary on the Mahābhārata".

* I owe this information to my revered guru and colleague Mahamahepadbyaya S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal.

Being interested in the chronology of the commentaries on the Mahābhārata I felt much interested in the above remarks of Prof. Sastri about Vādirājatīrtha's date and began to read some of the works of this erudite philosopher with a view to gather chronological data. To begin with I perused his *Tīrthaprabandhakāvya* from a Ms in the Govt. Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute (No. 622 of 1882-83). This poem contains description of the places of pilgrimage and the deities presiding over them in different parts of India. In particular I was much impressed by Vādirāja's description of (1) the

In Duff's Chronology of India (1899) this date for Vadiraja has been incorporated as under on page 210:—

A. D. 1339—S. 1261—Death of Vādirāja, said to be same as Kavīndra, 8th successor of Anandatīrtha in the Madhva Sect. " (Bhandarkar's Report 1882-83, pp. 8, 203).

Vithobā of Pandharpur ¹ (Sholapur District) and (2) Mahā-lakṣmī of Kolhapur. ² Further while describing the पम्पाक्षेत्र on the banks of the Tungabhadrā river Vādirāja was found to refer to god विद्वल ³. This reference roused my curiosity still further as the verse containing this reference contains the tradition current in the Maratha country about the transfer of the image of Vithobā from Pandharpur to Vijayanagar

"श्री भीमरध्यमलनीरसमीरवेगनिर्धूनतीरगतराशुभघर्मजालम् ।
श्रीपांडुरंगलभितं वर्षंडरीकक्षेत्रं पवित्रमहमन्वहमाश्रितोऽस्मि ॥ ५ ॥
तीरे सन्सरितस्तिरस्कतधनासक्तिविंराक्तिप्रियः
पादांभोजामिदं मदंकमाहितः संचितयांतह्नि ।
पश्चात्ते कटिमात्र एव भविता भंसारवर्द्धिनंचेक्रिक्षामीतिहि लक्षयन्यनदिनं स्वावस्थया विद्वलः ॥ ६ ॥

पापावली पाठनपटूर्वागः
श्रीपाणिपद्माचितजानुजंघः ।
गोपाळबाळः रूपया स्वयं नः
श्रीपांडुरंगो सवतु प्रसन्तः ॥ ७ ॥
पापाचनोदनपटुप्रियमृत्यमृंगैः
पेपीयमानशुभसुंद्रतारसांद्रं ।
तापत्रयोपश्भनं तरणार्कवर्णं
गोपाळबाळचरणांवरुहं श्रिनोऽस्मि ॥ ८ ॥''

2 The verse referring to the Mahālakṣmī of Kolhapur reads as follows on folio 8:—

" अमानवजनस्थानसरसीकुलसंकुले । रमा कोल्हापुरक्षेत्रे* वसतीति किमद्भुतम् ॥ ८५ ॥ "

- * In an inscription (dated 1st February 1147) of Silähara Vijayaditya on a Jain Temple near Sukrawar Gate (Kolhapur) अञ्चलका is recorded as another name for Kolhapur (Vide Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 209).
- 3 The description of বৃদ্দাস্ত্ৰৰ and the reference to বিহুত will be found in the following verses on folios 15-16:—
 - " तटिनीषु तुंगभद्रे स्वादूदकसंकुला त्वमसि नूनम् । कस्मान्तर्थिपदोसी धन्ते त्वामेव दंष्ट्रयोनी चेत् ।। १२ ॥ (Continued on the next page)

¹ Verses 5 to 8 on folio 10% refer to God ਕ੍ਰਿਫ਼ਲ of Pandharpur :--

on the banks of the Tungabhadrā. I found this tradition referred to in one of the Maratha Chronicles.

Malhar Ramrao Chitnis in his Life of Shivāji¹ composed in A. D. 1811 states that the image of Vithobā was transferred from Pan dharpur to Vidyānagar or Vijayanagar as the Vijayanagar kings were great upholders of Hinduism and full of devotion to Gods and Brahmans. Later in the same context he mentions the names Jnāneśvara and Bhānudāsa without mentioning the re-transfer of the image back to Pandharpur.

Mr. K. N. Sane the editor of the above bakhar of Chitnis in his notes on the above mentioned passage of the Bakhar in question makes the following remarks².—

"Rāmrājā of Vīdyānagar transferred the Vithobā of Pandhari to Vijayanagar from whence he was brought back by sage Bhānudāsa of Paithana (see Mahipati's Bhaktivijaya chapter 43)...... It was possibly in the reign of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509-1530) that Viṭhobā was taken from Pandhari to Vidyānagar. It is likely

चोर्यानमातृनिबद्धचारुचरणः पापावचार्याद्बुधेः । बद्धस्तं पथि पुंडरीकमुनिना* जारेति संबोधितः । तुंगातीरगतोऽसि विद्वल भियेर्वान्याकृतिं वांच्छितम् । वेत्तणां यदि मे न दास्यिति तदा त्वत्सांस्थितिः कथ्यते ॥ १३ ॥ पंपाध्यक्षो विरूपाक्षः संपद्दे स्यात्सतां सद् । यो हेमगिरिसीमायां राजते राजशेखरः ॥ १४ ॥ "

* In a Sanskrit inscription dated Saka 1159 (= A. D. 1237) in Vithobā's temple at Pandharpur the story of the boon to Pundalika is referred to with the only difference that पुण्डरीक is there called a Sage or मुनि (Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XX, p. 420) Vādirāja also refers to पुण्डरीक as मुनि

Compare also the following remarks of John Wilson in his article "Ancient Remains of Western Iniia (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. III, Jan. 1850) p. 87— "The celebrated temple of Vithobā near Pandharpur is supposed to be a Buddhist structural temple now appropriated by the Brahmans. It certainly has the appearance of great antiquity. The oversight of the distinction of caste among the natives who frequent this shrine, when in the presence of the idol would seem to indicate some compromise with the Buddhists. In villages near Pandharpur we have noted other ancient temples probably Buddhist which are entirely forsaken and which bear the marks of violence probably Brahmanical or Musalman."

Edited by Mr. K. N. Sane, Poona 1924, Pages 7-8.

¹ Ibid, p. 38.

that the temple of Vitthalasvāmi at Vijayanagar may have been commenced during his reign. The construction of this temple was completed about A. D. 1542 during the reign of Acyutarāya the brother of Kṛṣṇadevarāya (vide Sardesai's Musalmani Riyasat page 200, section 51). At that time Rāmarāya the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇadevarāya was the Prime Minister of the state and he continued in that capacity from 1542 to 1565 A. D. As he was practically in power he is called "Kirīṭi Rāmarājā" in the Chitnis Bakhar"

According to the tradition referred to in Mr. Sane's foregoing remarks the transfer of Vithobā to Vijayanagar took place in the *middle of the 16th century* while if the date of Vādirājatīrtha was correct this transfer would appear to have taken place before A. D. 1339, the date of Vādirāja's death, as given by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri on the authority of Sir R G. Bhandarkar. The difference between the dates for this tradition being

¹ Vijayanagar Third Dynasty by Prof N. V. Ramanayya, Madras, 1935— ज्यासनीर्थ the greatest exponent of Madhvaism had much influence with Kṛṣṇadevarāya (p. 322). He set up the image of नरसिंहर्न, भी in the courtyard of Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi (p. 323) and died a little later in A. D. 1532.

On p. 439 Prof. Ramanayya observes:— "He (i. e. Kṛṣṇarāya) must have undertaken to reconstruct the Viṭṭhalsvāmi temple during the last years of his reign which he was obliged to leave unfinished at the time of his death'......" The construction of the Viṭṭhalsvāmi's Temple is usually attributed to Kṛṣṇadevarāya but he could not have built that temple as it existed even in the time of Devarāya II. We learn from Haribhaṭṭa, who lived in the first quarter of the 16th century that Proluganṭi Tippaṇa, one of Devarāya's officers built a bhogamaṇṭapa for Viṭṭhala" at Hampi.

Dr. B. A. Saletore in his Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire, Vol. II. (1934) p. 163 observes:— "Acyutarāya's gift of Suvarņameru was commemorated in a Sanskrit verse composed by Voduva Tirumalamma (A. D. 1533) and inscribed in the Viţţh la Temple at Hampi."

Mr. A. H. Longhurst in his Hampi Ruins (1917) p. 124 remarks:—"The temple was never finished nor consecrated. In all probability the work was stopped by the destruction of the city in 1565, but tradition gives another reason and says that it was built specially for the famous image of Vithobā at Pandharpur in Sholapur district of Bombay but that the god having come to look at it, refused to move, saying that it was too grand for him and that he preferred his own humbler home." (A fine photograph of Vitthala Temple at Hampi appears on p.126 of Mr. Longhurst's book showing it sarchitectural grandeur),

See also *Epi. Carnatica* Vol. XI, p. 137—Inscription dated 1533 A. D.—God Vitthalesvara is referred to.

more than 200 years it could not but raise doubts in my mind about the date of Vādirāja as recorded in the Succession Lists of the High Priests of the Madhva Sect, as recorded by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his Report for 1882-83 (p. 203 onwards). I also reported this contradiction between the two dates to my friends Prof. S. V. Dandekar, M. A. of the S. P. College, Poona, who has made a special study of the literature about the Vithoba of Pandharpur as also Dr. B. A. Saletore, M. A. Ph., D. of the same College. The former told me that the tradition known to him pertained to the 16th century while the latter informed me that the date for Vādirāja in the lists published by Sir R. G. Rhandarkar was definitely wrong. I thereupon asked Dr. Saletore to state his evidence on the strength of which he considered Bhandarkar's date A. D. 133) for Vādirāja's death as definitely wrong. He was kind enough to send me a note recording epigraphic evidence in support of the date A. D. 1571 for Vadirajatirtha and I have great pleasure in reproducing it here in extenso:-

" Vādirāja of Udipi —

Vadirāja Svāmi's date can be determined from the following stone inscription found in the Kantanahalli grāma, Soraba Hobli in front of the Venkataramana temple. It relates the following:

That when the Rāja-parameśvara Tirumala Rāya Mahārāya was on the throne in his residence at Penugonda, and Keladi Sadā-siva Rāya Nāyaka's (Agent) Rāma Rāja Nāyaka (was over the Banavase Twelve Thousand), Rāma Rāja Nāyaka made to Kṛṣṇa-deva of Udipi, to the parama-hamsa Vādirāja-tīrha-śrīpāda and to Raghunidhi-tīrtha-śrīpāda, the grant of an argahāra with a stone

¹ The unreliabitity of these lists has been made clear by Prof. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma of Annamalai University in Nov. 1935 issue of the Anna. Univ. Journal, pp. 96-118. According to him the dates of accession and demise of Madhvācārya and his first five successors are as follows:—

Śrī Madhyācārya		Birth A. D. 1238		<i>Exit</i> 1317 A.D.
1.	Padmanābhatīrtha	1318 (accession)		1324
2.	Narahari Tirtha	1324	33	1333
3.	Mādhava Tīrtha	1333	**	1350
4.	Aksobhya Tirtha	1350	**	1365
5.	Jayatīrtha	1365	27	1388

śāsana as follows (details given) on the date specified (which is the following:—śri-jayābhyudaya Śālivāhana Śaka-varuṣa 1493 neya Prajōtpatya-samvatsarada Kārttika śuddha 15 Kruttikā janana-yō-gadaltu)

(E. C. VIII. Sb. 55, p. 10, p. 23 text.)

The date works out to A. D. 1571, November the 1st Thursday when the nakṣatra was Bharaṇi and not Kṛttikā. This was a Paurṇimā (Swamikannu, Indian Eph. V. p. 345.)

From other sources we know that Vādirāja's favourite disciple was the well-known Kanaka Dāsa, the Non-Brahman (Bedar) devotee of Kṛṣṇa. Kanaka Dāsa's dates are circa 155,-1570.''

In addition to the above direct inscriptional evidence for Vādirāja we find two more inscriptions one of A. D. 1614 and the other A. D. 1613 in which Vādirāja and his pupil are mentioned. There are in all 40 inscriptions at Udipi, the seat of Madhva Matha. Two of these refer to Vādirāja and his pupil:—

"No. 231—110 of 1901—(Kanarese) On another slab built into the same wall (i. e. North wall of the Kṛṣṇa Maṭha). A record of the Vijayanagar King Vira Venkaṭa Pati (1) recording in Śaka 1536 (= A. D. 1614) (Pramādin) the grant of the village of Huvinkere by Venkaṭappa Nāyaka of Keladi while वेद खतार्थ, pupil of बादिराजतीर्थ was the priest of the temple. See Nos. 234 and 235 below. बादिराज was a man of great erudition and wrote several works.² "

" No. 235—114 of 1901—(Kanarese) On another Slab built into the same wall. A record in Śaka 1535 (= A. D. 1613) Pramādin mentioning वादिराजतीर्थ and his pupil and providing for offerings."

In view of the foregoing epigraphic evidence it is difficult to believe in the accuracy of the Madhva Matha lists published by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar so far as exact chronology is concerned. If Vādirāja was living in A. D. 1571 as proved by the Soraba Hobļi inscription mentioned above it is perfectly natural for-

¹ Rangacharya: Madras Inscriptions Vol. II, pp. 870-871.

² There is a Ms of a work called रत्नसंग्रह by रघुनाशाचार्य in the India Office Library (No. 6051—Keith's Catalogue Vol. II, p. 659). It is "an anthology of the views of Vādirāja" compiled by his pupil Raghunatha.

him to refer to the transfer of the image of Vithobā to Vijayanagar in the line, 'तंगातीस्गतोऽसि विद्वल'' in the verse 13 of his तीर्थपबन्यकाच्य quoted above and hence there is no sort of contradiction or anachronism involved in the reference.

A question may be raised whether there was another वादिराजतीर्थ in the Madhva line of succession distinct and separate from
the वादिराजतीर्थ referred to in the inscriptions mentioned above.
The Madhva lists published by Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar already
alluded to by me show only one वादिराजतीर्थ and it was this वादिराज
तीर्थ that composed a commentary on the Mahābhārata. There is
a Ms¹ of भारतताल्पर्यनिर्णयटिप्पणीः (भावभकाशिका) in which वादिराज gives
the derivation of his own name in the following verses:—

" प्रणम्य नृहरिं मध्वगुरूश्चान्यान्यथामति ।

महाभारततात्पर्यनिर्णयार्थः प्रकाइयते ॥

वादी मध्वो यस्य राजा सोऽहं तस्य रुपाबलात्।

वादिराजेन स्वशक्त्या बीणे वरणयामि तत् "

We may, therefore, safely conclude that there was only one Madhva philosopher of the name बादिराजतीर्थ and that he flourished about the 2nd half of the 16th century and that the date A. D. 1339 of his death recorded in the Madhva succession lists is definitely wrong.

Prof. P. P. S. Sastri on pp. XIV-XV of his Introduction to the Sabhāparvan (Vol. III) of the Southern Recension of the Mahābhārata states that the Ms of Vādirāja's commentary used by him records the following date when the copy was made by the scribe Narasimha:—

" तारण वत्सरे चैव माघे छक्के च पश्चमी। बुधवारे नारासेंह इदं लिखित पुस्तक्रम्॥"

Prof. Sastri observes that "The earliest date for the above is 30-1-1465 A. D. and the latest date satisfying the other particulars is 25-1-1645 A. D."

As the date 30-1-1465 A. D. cannot satisfy all particulars mentioned by the scribe, we have to reject it and adopt the date

¹ Madras Cata, No. X, p. 3620.

^{15 [} Annals, B. O. R. I.]

25-1-1645 A. D. which as Prof. Sastri states satisfies all particulars. This later date is perfectly in harmony with our date for Vādirāja viz. 1571 A. D. If Vādirāja wrote about 1571 it is natural to have a copy of his work in A. D. 1645.

In view of the facts recorded in this note it is difficult to accept an early date for VādirājaIrtha as Prof. P. P. S. Sastri has done in the extract from his Introduction to one of the Mahābhārata volumes quoted by us already. In case Prof. Sastri succeeds in establishing on incontrovertible grounds an earlier date for Vādirājatīrtha I shall be very glad to know the independent evidence, if any, on the strength of which his conclusion may be based. For the present at least the inscriptional evidence recorded by me in this note compels me to reject all conjectural and other data gathered on the question so far.

REVIEWS

THE GITA RAHASYA OR SCIENCE OF KARMAYOGA, BY B. G. Tilak, (English translation) Vol. I by B. S. Sukthankar, M. A. LL. B. Publishers—Tilak Bros, Poona (India) pp. 618, Price Rs. 6.

The book under review is the first volume of the English translation by Mr. B. S. Sukthankar, M. A., LL. B., of the Gita Rahasya, the Secret Doctrine of the Gita or as the translator puts it, the Science of Karmayoga, the magnum opus of the great patriot genius, late Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Inspite of its early date, the Gita has not yet become a document of completed history. Its influence is not waning; it is on the increase, In India countless millions derive from it comfort and joy. Even in the West inspite of prejudice and powerful organization, the song of the lord is gaining admiration, reverence and even devotion. Feeling the pulse of the nation, the late patriot concluded that to rouse his countrymen from the slumber of inaction, it was necessary to inject into their veins the spirit of activism which he had extracted from the Gita and which he had by personal experience, found most envigorating. It is with this end in view that late Mr. Tilak published his big Volume in 1915 in Marathi, the dialect spoken by millions of his countrymen. What scholarship, erudition, originality of thought and perseverance Mr. Tialk possessed will flash on the mind of a reader even by a cursory glance over the few pages of the book.

It is unnecessary to discuss in the present review the merits and demerits of the original work. Suffice it to say that the Gītā Rahasya has created for itself an immortal place in the hearts of the Marathi speaking people. It can be safely said that it is one of the few prose works in the Marathi language that will go down to posterity.

Since its first publication in 1915 it has passed through four editions, the first edition being sold within less than three months. Its Hindi translation has gone through seven editions. It has been translated in Gujarathi, Bengali, Kanarsee, Telgu and Tamil, i. e. practically in all the major dialects of India.

It was necessary that a work of this type be translated into English, so that it might be placed in the market of the world to be judged and appreciated by world scholars. The late Mr. Tilak greatly desired and in his life time strove to get his work translated. But as fate would have it, he neither found time to do it himself nor found anyone who could undertake to do it. It was thus an onerous charge bequeathed by him to his sons. And the work, as we have it before us, is the fulfilment of the last will of his father by the only surviving son of the late author.

Mr. Sukthankar, the translator, has taken great pains to render into English the Ethico-philosophical ideas in the original work. But the translation form has certain special difficulties of its own. The best literature in any language can never be adequately rendered in another language. The intrinsic difficulties of this method have been, from our point of view, unnecessarily increased by certain self-imposed conditions of the translator. The translator says, "In translating I have attempted to be as faithful to text as possible, as I have thought that in the case of a philosophical and technical book written by a genius like the late Lokamanya, it would be extremely wrong to take any liberty whatever with the text. The late Lokamanya, besides being a great philosopher and a great statesman, was also a master of the Marathi language and even an apparently insignificant word used by him has an immense modifying or limiting value and the omission of even a small conjunction or the translation of an 'and' or an 'or' would considerably injure the sense intended to be convey. ed by the author. I have therefore not changed the text at all, but only altered the garb, or the medium of expression; for a translation is no translation, if it is not faithful. I have not even broken up long and involved sentences." We differ from the translator in this respect. A word for word translation may, to a casual reader, appear as a faithful translation. But there is every possibility that it may not be a faithful one in the true sense of the term, as it may not convey to a reader the spirit or the meaning which the original author wanted to express; thus it will frustrate the very wish of the author to be truly reproduced. The spirit is the soul of the work, the words are only the body. And we therefore believe that it is necessary to pay more attention to the spirit than to the body in the mode of its expression.

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The Gita Rahasya, as has been said above, started a new era in the Marathi branch of the history of the Gita. Moreover, the work bristles with abstract conceptions and naughty philosophical As such we believe that utmost care should have been taken to see that the translation reproduced the exact spirit of the original. But in this translation, it appears that the choice of words has been frequently unhappy. And it is possible to point out better and more appropriate English words for corresponding Marathi and Sanskrit terms. जीव for instance has been translated as 'conscious ego'. It could have been better translated as finite or individual self. The word are can certainly be translated with 'released'. But we believe it will be inappropriate to use word 'released', when by the word see (Page 19) the absolute freedom of the " Parabrahma " is to be denoted. The word ইমর on page 269 has been translated as Owner of the Body. We think Dr. Besant's translation 'knower of the field' is certainly better. The words at and aget on page 274 have been translated as 'matter and spirit.' We wish the author had stuck to one rendering 'mutable and immutable'.

In a translation method we think it is desirable to allow the translation to lie on the table for some days and then to revise it twice or thrice. That gives a sufficient time for the mind to dig into itself and get the most exact word. But apparently the present translator found no time to do this and hence the hasty choice.

We take this opportunity to suggest that an appendix at the end of the Vol. II be given where the technical terms and newly coined words should be explained. That will help to avoid a possible misunderstanding. For instance, Mr. Tilak translates the word Pravṛtti Mārga with 'Energisim.' Perhaps the author used it in a sense approaching the Aristotelian. But as used in these days it means a theory similar to the one advocated by Von Driesch and others. And until the reader comes to that page where the technical sense is explained, he is likely to be greatly misled by the associations the term energism has gathered round itself and which he must be carrying in his head. Such an appendix is absolutely necessary as the translation is meant for a reader who knows not Marathi.

Such defects are however bound to remain in a volume of over 600 pages finished within a span of hardly six months. Even as it is, we welcome the volume, as it opens a new era in the history of the work that has captured the minds of the Maharashtrians. The publishers have taken all the pains that they could to make the work as attractive as possible, by giving several opinions of great men like Babu Aravind Ghosh, Mahatma Gandhi and others about the author and the work. In a translation meant for an alien reader, the information regarding the family history of Mr. Tilak's dead son could have been safely omitted; for it in no way helps a better understanding of the translation, though perhaps it may show why the sons could not publish the work earlier, a fact not very important to a foreigner.

The front piece is very well chosen as it is expressive of the variations in the interpretations of the Gitā and of the place the Gitā Rahasya occupies in these interpretations.

We await with keenness the second Volume of the translation.

S. V. Dandekar

THE TRADITIONAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE JAINAS

(An outline of the Political Development of India from 543 B. C. to 78 A. D.) by Shantilal Shah (Verlag von W. Kohlhammer Stuttgart 1935)

This small book covering 109 (XII+97) pages and having a very nice get-up forms the 9th number (Heft) of the Series "Bonner Orientalistische Studien" herausgegeben von P. Kahle und W. Kirfel. As stated by Mr. Shah in his preface, his aim in writing this book is "not alone to fix the death-year of Buddha or Mahāvīra or the coronation-dates of Candragupta and Aśoka, nor to authenticate the Jaina traditional account, but also to reconstruct the chronology of the whole history of Northern India from Ajātašatru to Kaniska".

This aim is certainly ambitious and laudable as well, but its achievement is by no means an easy task as it requires collecting, reshuffling and evaluating in a dispassionate way, various data pertaining to legendary accounts and anecdotes, coins and inscriptions as well as traditions and several historical records. Mr. Shah has no doubt taken much trouble to fulfil the aim; but, as all the materials sufficient for the reconstruction of the chronology of the entire History of Northern India are not still available, it should not be a matter of surprise to him, if his attempt, however praiseworthy it may be is not looked upon as final. Moreover, there is always room for honest difference of opinion in the field of true research and sound scholarship.

An ardent student of history cannot afford to belittle, much less to entirely ignore, the value of a genuine study of the legendary accounts. So it is quite consistent when we find Mr. Shah making full use of the Jaina traditional account which being resourceful can lend a helping hand in solving some of the vexed questions of Indian History. It is in the fitness of things that he has devoted one whole chapter out of four, to the history of the Jaina church of ancient days.

His zest for investigation goes so far as to make him criticize the views and writings of various veteran scholars. For instance, while agreeing with Prof. Jacobi regarding the identification of Kālāśoka and Kākavarņa, he differs from him when the latter doubts the authenticity of some of the Jaina chronological gāthās, and that he boldly points out Prof. Jacobi's mistake regarding the meaning of the word "Yugapradhāna". He has not even spared an ancient Sūri and a polygrapher like Hemacandra. For, he observes that there are many inconsistencies in the whole account given by him in the 8th and 9th cantos of his work Pariśistaparvan. Of course, he remarks in the course of his criticism that Hemacandra alone is not responsible for this, and that "he has been merely a prey of the popular stories current in his times".

On the whole Mr. Shah's book provides ample material for further study in the field of Indian chronology in general and Jaina chronology in particular. I may en passant note below one or two mistakes—discrepancies that I have noticed during a cursory perusal of this book, with the hope that they may be removed in the subsequent edition of this book and thus enhance the value that can be attached to it owing to its exhaustive contents, index and lucid treatment.

It is a sad mistake to attribute the authorship of *Prabhāvakacaritra* to Pradyumna Sūri who has corrected it, when the real author is Prabhācandra Sūri. As regards the Index an entry about Pradyumna Sūri is at present wanting, and one more reference to *Prabhāvakacariia* on p. 73 is left out.

In the end, while congratulating the publishers for this handy work they have thus provided to an ordinary reader, I may draw Mr. Shah's attention and that of the reader, too, to the following contributions connected with the chronology and some other problems pertaining to Maurya dynasty:—

- (1) Candragupta Maurya by P. L. Bhargava, M. A., Shastri.
- (2) "Some Problems of Early Maurya History and Chronology" by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, M. A., Ph. D., published in "Indian Culture," vol. II, No. 3, January 1936 (pp. 557-564).

H. R. Kapadia.

¹ See Descriptive Catalogue of Jain Manuscripts Vol. XIX.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

[A complete up-to-date Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Manuscripts to be published by the University of Madras]

All Orientalists and Indologists are familiar with Dr. Aufrecht's monumental work-The Catalogus Catalogorum-as an indispensable piece of apparatus for Oriental research. Since 1903, thirtytwo years ago, when Dr. Aufrecht completed his Catalogus Calalogorum, many important collections of Sanskrit manuscripts within and outside India have come to the notice of scholars and several volumes of catalogues, giving reliable information regarding some thousands of Sanskrit manuscripts, have become available in Madras, Bengal, Lahore, Bombay, Baroda, Dacca, Benares, Travancore, Central Provinces and Berar, Mysore and other centres. Highly valuable as are the materials contained in Dr. Aufrecht's great work it is now found to be defective and incomplete, chiefly in view of the vast accession to the stock of knowledge about the literary treasures in Sanskrit, that has been made available within the last thirty-two years subsequent to the completion of Dr. Aufrecht's work. The need for supplementing Dr. Aufrecht's work was recently brought to the notice of the Madras University, which in view of the large number of Sanskrit manuscripts in South India, has decided to undertake the preparation and publication of a complete up-to-date Catalogus Catalog rum of Sanskrit Manuscripts, utilising the invaluable work already done by Dr. Aufrecht as the basis and containing references to all known Sanskrit manuscripts. The main lines on which this work is proposed to be carried on are indicated below:-

- 1. Checking and verification of the entries in the Catalogus Catalogorum of Dr. Aufrecht.
- 2. Introduction of fresh entries in the case of important manuscripts.
- 3. Dealing with the additional manuscripts collected within and outside India within the last thirty-two years.
- 4. Entering the dates of works and authors, as far as possible.
- 5. Incorporation of works known through citations alone, with appropriate references as far as possible.

The University has entrusted the work to an Editorial Committee constituted as follows:—

- Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M. A., Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras (on leave), and Curator, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras-(Editor-in-Chief).
- Professor P. P. S. Sastri, M. A. (Oxon), Officiating Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras.
- 3. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. B. A. (Hons), D. Phil. (Oxon), Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras.

Since the success of the undertaking is largely dependent upon the co-operation and help of scholars interested in Sanskrit, the Madras University would earnestly request scholars and Heads of institutions interested in Sanskrit and Indology to assist it by furnishing information on any or all of the following points:—

- 1. Places where manuscripts are available, with particulars regarding owners and authors.
- 2. Lists of manuscripts.
- 3. Other suggestions for the preparation of the proposed new Catalogus Catalogorum.

It is requested that all communications regarding this matter may be addressed to "The Editor-in-Chief, Catalogus Catalogorum Governmet Oriental Manuscripts Library, Museum Buildings, Pantheon Road, Egmore, Madras."

S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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PART III

COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA

(Epic and Pauranic Sources)

BY

Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M. A., B. L., Ph. D.
BHĀRATAVARṢA AND ITS VARIOUS DIVISIONS

The Jambudvipa, according to Puranic authors, was originally divided into seven varsas, namely Ilavrta or Meru varsa, Ramyaka or Ramanaka (Matsya, 113, 61; Mbh. VI, 8, 2) or Nilavarsa (Brahmānda, 34, 46), Hiranmaya or Śvetavarsa Brahmānda, 34. 46; Agni 107. 7), Uttarakuru or Śrngavad-(Brda, 34. 47) or Airāvata-varsa (Mbh. VI, 6. 37), Bhārata or Himāva (Brda, 84. 44, 53) or Haimavata (Brda, 35. 30, Matsya, 113. 28) or Ajanābha (Ind. Ant. 1899. p. 1), Kimpurusa or Hemakūta-varsa (Drda, 34. 44) or Haimavata-varsa (Mbh. VI, 6. 7.) or Kimnarakhanda (Ain-i-Akbari, III, pp. 30. 31), and Harivarsa or Nisadhavarsa (Brda, 34. 45). Two other varsas, namely, Bhadrasva or Mālyavad-varsa and Ketumāla or Gandhmādana-varsa (Brda, 34. 47, 48), were later on added to the original seven, thus bringing the total number of varsas to nine (for sapta-varsāni, see Matsya, 113-14; Brda, 35. 24; ibid, 28, Mbh. VI. 6. 53; for navavarsāni, see, Matsya, 114, 85; Brda, 34, 48; ibid, 35, 7; Nīlakantha's Com. on Mbh. VI. 6. 37). Of these varsas Bhāratavarsa lay most to the South. It was separated from the Kimpurusa by the Himavat, and had the shape of a bow (Matsya, 1I3. 32; Brda, 35. 33; Mbh. VI. 6. 38). It lay between the Himavat to the north and the sea to the south (Vāyu, 45. 75-76; Viṣṇu, II. 3. 1.)

The name Bhāratavarṣa is said to have been derived from King Bharata, a descendant of Priyavrata, son of Manu Svayambhaya.²

Bhāratavarsa, according to Puranic Cosmology, was divided into nava khandas or nine divisions. According to Mārkandeya Purāna they are:

Indradvīpah Kaserumāns-Tāmraparņo Gabhastimān Nāgadvīpastathā Saumyo Gāndharvvo Vāruņastathā Ayam tu navamasteṣām dvīpah sāgarasamvṛtah³ Yojanānām sahasram vai dvīpo yam dakṣiṇottarāt Brāhmaṇāh Kṣatriyā Vaisyāh Śūdrāscāntahsthitā dvija⁴

These nine 'bhedas' or 'khaṇḍas' of Bhāratavarṣa are mentioned also in the famous astronomical work, the Siddhānta Śiromaṇi (III. 41) of the celebrated astronomer Bhāskarācārya, as well as in the majority of the Purāṇas. The Vāmana and the Garuḍa Purāṇas however replace Saumya and Gāndharva by Katāha and Simhala. The ninth dvīpa which is described ās 'encircled by seas, extending over thousand yojanas from north to south, with Kirātas at the eastern extreme and Yavanas at the western and Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras residing between', is not mentioned by name in the majority of the Purāṇas. The name is supplied by the Vāmana Purāṇa as Kumāra (XIII. ii) and by the Kumārika Khaṇḍam of the Skanda Purāṇa

¹ For the historical value and otherwise of the different Pauranic Varsas, see, Ray Chaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 61-80.

² Brda, 34. 55; Bhāga, XI, 2. 15 ff.

³ The Nagarasamurtah of Alberuni is obviously a copyist's mistake (Indios; I, 295).

⁴ Mark. P. 57.

⁵ According to the Skanda Purāṇa, Kumārika Khaṇḍa extended from only the Mahendra mountain to the Pāriyātra (Kumārika Khaṇḍa, 39. 113); according to the Garuḍa Purāṇa, however, it was bounded on the east by the Kirātas, on the west by the Yavanas, on the south by the Andhras and on the north by the Turuṣkas (55.6).

as Kumārika (39.69). The Kāvya mīmām sā of Rājasekhara also gives the name of the ninth dvīpa as Kumārī (Deśa-vibhāga, p. 92). The Markandeya Purana along with other Puranes describe the nine dvlpas as 'separated by seas and as being mutually inaccessible' (Samudrāntaritā jñeyāste tvagamyāh parasparam, Mārk. 575). But Bhāratavarsa, as we now know it, is not separated by seas within itself, nor are its component parts "mutually inaccessible "; Bhāratavarṣa is not thus our India of present geographical area. That Bharatavarsa connoted a much larger area than India proper will be evident from the fact that only one of its islands, the ninth, stands for India proper. The 'ninth dvipa' i. e., the Kumāri or Kumārika dvīpa is described to be surrounded by sea and to have been inhabited by the Kirātas and the eastern extreme and Yavanas at the western with Brahmanas, Kşatriyas, Vaisyas and Śūdras thrown within. The Kumārī dvīpa thus seems to be identical with India proper; and in its account the Pauranic authors seem to describe a condition of India as in about the first century A. D., when Ptolemy locates the Kirrhadia, doubtless identical with the Kirātas, in the eastern region (Cf. Majumdar's edition of Ptolemy. p. 219) and the inscriptions of Aśoka place the Yonas or Yavanas along with the Kambojas and Gandharas.1 Bharatavarsa thus denoted a much larger area than India proper.2

As to the identifications of eight other dvipas there is much scope for speculation, and hence a great deal of disagreement among scholars. Thus Alberuni identifies Indradvipa with Madhyadeśa, i. e., the middle country (Indica I. p. 296) while Abul Fazl in his Ain-i-Akbari places it between Lankā and Mahendra hills (III, p. 31) which somewhat agrees with the location of the dvipa as described in Skandapurāṇa.

¹ Cf. also the Mahāvamsa, Geiger's trans. p. 85, p. 194, n; Cf. also the invasion of the Indo-Greeks in the time of the Sungas, and later of the Bactrian Greeks.

² Pargiter rightly observes that the description of Kumārī dvīpa does not fully accord with the geographical position of India, for India proper "is not surrounded by the sea, but bounded by it only on the east, south and west, and only partially so on the east and west for verse 8 places the Kirātas and Yavanas respectively." Mārk. p. 284 n.

Surendranath Majumdar Sastri identifies it with Burma. The next dvipa, Kaserumat, is placed by Alberuni to the east of Madhyadeśa, and between Mahendra and Sukti hills by Abul Fazl.

Majumdar identifies it with the Malay Peninsula. The third dvīpa, Tāmravarņa or (Tāmraparņa or Tāmraparnī) is placed in the south-east by Alberuni and between Sukti and Malaya by Abul Fazl. It is probably identifiable with the region drained by the river Tamraparni in the extreme South. The dvipa is also identifiable with Ceylon which the Greek Geographers knew as Taprobane, and is referred to in the inscriptions of Aśoka as Tambapanni. Gabhastimat, according to Abul Fazl, lay between the Rksa and the Malaya, and according to Alberuni, to the south of the Madhyadesa. According to Smith Nagadvipa seems to be identical with the Jaffna Peninsula of Ceylon (Early History of India, 4th Edn. p. 491) Saumya has not been identified, but Katāha which is the substitute reading in the Vāmana Purāņa has been rightly identified with Kedah in the Malaya Peninsula. Gandharva is placed by Alberuni to the north-west of the Madhyadeśa; it is doubtless identical with the well-known and very ancient region of Gandhāra. Garuda Purāņa reads Simpala instead which is Ceylon. Varuna, the eighth dvīpa, is placed by Abul Fazl between the Sahya and the Vindhya.

Perhaps older and certainly more accurate than the tradition of the Pauranic Navakhanda is the division of Bhāratavarşa into nine bhedas by the celebrated astronomers Parāšara and Varāhamihira. These astronomers and astrologers conceived the shape of India as that of a tortoise (kūrma) lying outspread; they therefore describe the country as Kūrma-cakra. Each of the nine bhedas is called a varga by Varāha; Bhāratavarṣa is thus divided into nine parts conforming to the nine of the ten points of the compass, e. g., the central, eastern, southern, western, northern, south-eastern or Agneya, south-western or Nairta north-western of Vāyava and north-eastern Aišāna. Pañcāla was the main district in the central division, Magadha in the eastern, Kulinda in the north-eastern, Madra in the northern,

¹ Varāhamihira is supposed to have adopted the tradition earlier recorded by Parāśara in his *Parāśaratantra*. See, Kern's edn. of Brhatsamhitā of Varāha, p. 32.

Harahaura (or Hara Huna) in the north-western, Sindhu in the western, Ānarta in the south-western, Avanta in the southern, and Kalinga in the south-eastern (Brhat Sam, Ch. XIV. 32, 33). But when Varāha comes to his details, he assigns Sindhu and Sauvīra in the south-western division (Nairta) along with Pahlava and Kamboja and evidently Ānarta also (Ibid, XIV. 17). "This mistake is certainly as old as the eleventh century, as Abu Rihān has preserved the names of Varāha's abstract in the same order as they now stand in the Brhat Samhitā (Reinaud, Mèmoire sur l'Inde, pp. 116, 117 cf. no. II, map. fig. 3). These details are also supported by the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, which assigns both Sindhu-Sauvīra and Ānarta to the south-west."

But the most accurate from the geographical point of view is the description of our country divided into five and seven regions as given in the $Pur\bar{a}na$ and the $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}rata$. The division of India into five regions is however as old as the Atharvaveda (XIX. 17. 1-9) and the Aitareya Brahmana (VIII. 14), and was adopted by later Brahmanical and Buddhistic authorities.1 Thus Smrti writers like Baudhāyana seem to suggest a fivefold division while Rajasekhara in his Kāvyamīmāms ā actually adopts it. Buddhist writers like Yuan Chwang and authors of earlier texts also follow the same division. The Mahabharata also describes five divisions in detail, the central or Madhyadeśa, the eastern, southern, western and northern and at least three, the Matsya, Vāyu and Visnu purāņas, agree with it. According to the Visnu Purana, Madhyadesa was occupied by the Kurus and Pañcalas, the east by the people of Kamarupa, the south by the Pundras, Kalingas and Magadhas, the west by the Saurāstras, Šūras, Ābhīras, Arbudas, Kārūsas, Mālavas, Sauvīras and Saindhavas, and the north (?) by the Hūnas, Salvas, the people of Sākala, Ambasthas, Pārasikas, Rāmas etc. (Wilson's Visnu Purāna, Vol. II. Bk. II. 3 p. 132; there is, hewever no mention of the northern division in the text but it is nevertheless evident).2 The Visnu Purana list of countries is very meagre; the Mahabhārata has a much longer catalogue, but it is without any arrangement; so also in the Padmapurāna.

¹ Cunningham's Geography, Majumdar's Edn., p. 7 and note.

See, Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro. p. xixff.

The longest list of countries and peoples of India is however, contained in the Mārkaṇḍeya, the Brahmāṇḍa and the Vāyu. Both the Mārkaṇḍeya and the Brahmāṇḍa refer to the territorial divisions of India (Kumārīdvīpa) as numbering seven, the latter expressly stating that in ancient times Bhāratavarṣa was divided into seven regions (Sapta Khaṇḍam). But this division into seven regions is not anything fundamentally different from the division into five which is adopted by the majority of the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata. This will be evident from the list of the divisions which are as follows: the Madhyadeśa, the Udicya or north, the Prācya or east, Dakṣiṇāpatha or south, the Aparānta or west, the Vindhyan region and the Himālayan region (Parvataśreyiṇaḥ).

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa has also a second classification, apart from this seven, into nine, adopted certainly from the astronomical and astrological work of Varāhamihira and Parāśara. There India is described as resting on Viṣṇu in the form of a tortoise looking eastward; the various countries and peoples of Bhāratavarṣa are distributed accordingly over the several parts of his body, together with corresponding lunar constellations. The majority of the names of countries and peoples is very much the same as we find in the Nadyādivarṇanā section of the same purāṇa, but there is also quite a good lot of names that are entirely new and original.

It has already been pointed out that geographically speaking the division of our country into seven regions is more accurate and more in accord with reality. We, therefore, propose to follow the account as given in the nadyādi varnanā section (Ch. 57) and supplement it by names of peoples and countries as mentioned in the astronomical section (Ch. 58). The Brahmāṇḍa and the Vāyu Purāṇas, and as a matter of fact other Purāṇas also, give us nothing more than what is there in these two sections of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.

SHAPE OF INDIA

It has already been pointed out that according to the $K\bar{u}rma$ -nivesa section (i. e. astronomical) of the Mārkandeya Purāna as

¹ Brahmanda, 36, 64,

well as the works of our early astronomical authors the shape of India was like that of a tortoise "lying outspread and facing eastwards." This conception ignores the extreme southern region of the country. From the geographical standpoint, a sober account is given in a number of Puranas as well as in the Mahabharata which describe India as having the shape of a bow (Matsya, 113. 32; Brda, 35. 33, Mbh. VI, 6. 38). Nilakantha, the celebrated Commentator of the Mahābhārata, confirms the bowlike description of the country (Commy. on the Mbh. VI. 6.3-5). but he also speaks of Bhāratavarsa as being triangular in shape (Ibid. VI, 6.3-5) which is certainly a better description. most accurate description, however, seems to be the one as given in the nadyādi varnanā section of the Mārkandeya Purāna. India according to this conception, is "constituted with a four-fold conformation. On its south and west and east is the great ocean: the Himavat range stretches along on its north, like the string of a bow.1''

MADHYA-DEŚA OR CENTRAL REGION²

Matsyāśvakūṭāḥ Kulyāśca Kuntalāḥ Kāśī Kośalāḥ Atharvāśca Kaliṅgāśca Malakāśca Vṛkaiḥ saha Madhyadeśyā Janapadāḥ prāyaśo'mī prakīrtitāḥ II Sahyasya c'ottare yāstu yatra Godāvarī nadī I Pṛthivyāmapi Kṛtsnāyāṁ sa pradeśo manoramaḥ II Govardhanaṁ puraṁ ramyaṁ Bhārgavasya mahātmanaḥ I (Mārk. P. 57, 32-35).

Matsya—According to the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXX, 1105-6) the Matsya country of the Matsya people was situated south or south-west of Indraprastha, and west of Sūrasena (Virāṭa P. V. 141-45). According to Manu it was within the limits of

¹ Mārk. P. 57. 59 Pargiter's Tr. p. 347. According to Cunningham, the Mahābhārata has another description of the shape of the country, that of an equilateral triangle "which was divided into four smaller equal triangles. The apex of the triangle is Cape Comorin, and the base is formed by the line of the Himālayā mountains." Anc. Geo. of India, Majumdar's Edn. p. 5.

For other descriptions of the shape of India, see, ibid, pp. 1-13; Camb. Hist. of. India, I, pp. 400-402; Ray Chaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 84-86; Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro., p. xixff.

For the boundaries of Madhyadesa see Law, Ibid, pp. 1-2.

Brahmarsidesa (Manu, II, 19). The Mahābhārata mentions (Salya P. XXXVI, 1973-76) Upaplavya or Upaplava, a city situated at a distance of two days' journey by chariot from Ha stināpura, as its capital (Udyoga P. LXXXIII 3910-17: LXXXV. 3040). It is difficult to ascertain if Upaplavya was the same as Vairāta or Virātanagara which is also said to have been the capital city of the Matsya. Virātanagara was so called because it was the capital of Virāta, king of the Matsyas. According to Buddhist tradition it was one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Matsya country comprised the modern territory of Jaipur including the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur.

The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Vatsas instead of Matsyas (XLV. 110). The kingdom of the Vamsas or Vatsas is mentioned in Buddhist texts as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. According to the Mahābhārata Vatsa or Vatsya kingdom was situated to the east of Indraprastha (Sabhā P. XXIX. 1084); its king Vatsa was a grandson of king Divodāsa of Benares (Hari V. XXIX. 1587, 1597). The capital of the Vatsa country was Kausāmbī identical with modern Kosam near Allahabad.

Aśvakūtas—Such as a tribe or country is unknown: it is obviously a misreading, for the Vāyu Purāṇa reads Kisaṣṇas, Kisaṣṭas or Kisadyas instead (XLV. 110), and the Matsya reads Kirātas (CXIII 35). But we have otherwise no information of the location of the Kirātas in the Madhyadeśa; epic and pauranic tradition places them in the eastern region as we shall see later on; evidently the Kirātas are out of place here.

Kulyas — No such tribe or country is known; but it may be possible that they were the same people as the Kulutas, a republican community, who are mentioned in inscriptions of about the 1st century A. D. The Kulutas dwelt in the Punjab along with such tribes as the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Ārjuṇāyanas, Udumbaras, Kunindas etc.

Kuntalas -- The Bhisma Parva (IX, 347, 359, and 367) of the Mahabharata has some references to this tribe. The tribe referred to in verse 347 of the Bhisma Parva is probably the

¹ Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 16-17.

one referred to here in the Mārkandeya Purāna. The Kuntalas evidently occupied a country contiguous to Kāśi and Kosala where Cunningham found a region called Kuntila near Chunar. The tribe mentioned in verse 359 seems to have been a western people as they are mentioned along with peoples residing in the western region. The third tribe mentioned in verse 367 was the well-known Kuntala people of the South who played an important role in the history of the Deccan.

Kāśī — Celebrated as one of the oldest janapadas Kāśī finds mention in each and every ancient work of importance, Brahmanical or Buddhist. It is the ancient Vārāṇasī. According to the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi. K. XII. 20) Kāśī was a kingdom while Prayāga and the regions around it were still a forest (Cf. Kalakāvana). The Harivamśa refers to its early vicissitudes (XXIX and XXXII) while the Udyoga Parva of the Mahābhārata alludes to Kṛṣṇa's repeated burning of city. (XLVII. 1883).

Kośala—Evidenly Uttara Kośala or northern Kośala is meant for another Kośala which was called Dakṣiṇa Kośala or Mahā-Kośala is mentioned later on in verse 54 of Chap. 57 of the Mārkaṇdeya Purāṇa. According to epic tradition, Ayodhyā on the Sarayū seems to have been the earliest capital, but later on, in Buddhist times Ayodhyā sank to the level of an unimportant city but Sāketa and Sāvatthī were two of the six important cities of India.¹

Atharvas and Arkalingas—These two names are evidently misreadings, and it is difficult to find out what the correct form had been. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads atha pārśve tilangāśca instead of Atharvāśca Kalingāśca, while the Matsya reads Atharvāśca Kalingāśca. All these readings are improbable. Tilangas are well-known as a southern people, identical with the Trikalingas, and mentioned in Chap. 58 verse 28 of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa in connection with the southern people. Avantas and Kalingas are also well-known peoples but they are not known to have been located in the Madhyadeśa. In fact the Mārkandeya Purāṇa refers to the Avantas as a Vindhyan tribe (ch. 57; verses 52 and 55)

¹ Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 4-6.

^{2 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

and to the Kalingas once as a northern (Ibid; V. 37) and at another time as a southern tribe (Ibid, V. 46). The reference to the Kalingas as a northern tribe is certainly erroneous.

Malakas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Magadhas instead and the Matsya reads Mūkas. Both are misreadings, for the Magadhas are mentioned as an eastern people in verse 44 of Chap. 57 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. Pargiter suggests (Mārk. P. p. 309) that the reading should be Malajas. The Malajas "are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma Parva, IX, 357) and Rāmāyaṇa (Ādi K. XXVII, 16-23) and from the course described in the latter poem as taken by Viśvāmitra and Rāma, it appears they were neighbours of the Kārūsas and occupied the district of Shahabad, west of the Sone.......(ibid, 8-16).

Vṛkas—This tribe is similarly referred to in the Mahābhārata (Bhiṣma P. LI. 2106); but the Matsya Purāṇa reads Andhakas instead. The Andhakas, were very intimately associated with the Yādavas, and are often referred to in the Mahābhārata (Udyoga P. LXXXV, 304; Harivamsa, XXXV. 1907-8; ibid, XXXIX, 2041 etc.) but they are known to have been located in western India or Aparānta. A more correct reading appears to be Vṛṣṇikas.

The Mārkandeya list of peoples and countries of Madhyadeśa does not seem to be complete; for, the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas enumerate few countries more (Vāyu, XLV. 109-110; Matsya, CXIII. 35, 36), and the Mahābhārata seems to confirm it (Bhīṣma P. IX. 346-7). These countries and peoples are as follows: the Kurus, Pañcālas, Śālvas, Jāngalas, Śūrasenas, Bhadrakas, Bodhas and the lords of Śatapatha. The Matsya Purāṇa however, gives the last two names as Bāhyas and Paṭaccaras.

Kurus—The land of the Kurus was well-known as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas in the days of the Buddha; many a Buddhist legend is associated with the Kurus and their country. They are also very intimately connected with epic tradition; indeed the Mahābhārata graw up with the Kuru people and their country as its background. The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised the Kuruksetra or Thānesvar. The region included Sonapat, Amin, Karnal and Pānipat, and was

¹ Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 17-18.

situated between the Sarasvati on the north and Dreadvati on the south.

According to Pargiter the Kurus occupied the country "from the Sivis and sub-Himālayan tribes on the north to Matsya, Sūrasena and South Pañcale, on the South, and between north Pañcāla on the east and Marubhūmi (the Rajputana desert) on the west. Their territory appears to have been divided into three parts, Kuruksetra, the Kurus and the Kurujāngala (Ādi P. CIX. 4337-40). Kuruksetra, the cultivated land of the Kurus' comprised the whole tract on the west of the Jumna and included the sacred region between the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī (Vana P. LXXXIII. 5071-78 and 7073-76; Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā K. LXX. 12; Megha D. I. 49-50)... Kuru-jangala, 'the waste land of the Kurus' was the eastern part of their territory and appears to have comprised the tract between the Ganges and North Pancala (Ram. Ayodhya K. LXXII; Mbh. Sabhā P. XIX. 793-94). The middle region between the Ganges and Jumna seems to have been called simply the Kuru's country. The capital was Gajapur Hastināpura; and Khandavaprastha or Indraprastha, the modern Delhi, was a second capital founded by the Pandavas (Adi P., CCVII, 7568-94) "1

Pañcālas — According to Buddhist tradition Pañcāla had two divisions: Uttara Pañcāla and Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla. Mahābhārata also refers to these two divisions of the country the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Ahicchatra or Chatravatī (identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district), while southern Pañcāla had its capital at Kāmpilya (Mbh. 138. 73-74), identical with modern Kāmpil in the Farokhabad district. According to Buddhist tradition as contained in the Divyāvadāna, the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Hastināpura while according to the Jātakas Kapillanagara was the capital. ²

Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himālayas to the river Chambal, but it was

¹ Pargiter, Mark. P. pp. 354-355.

² Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 18-19.

divided into north and south Pañcāla, separated by the Ganges. It roughly corresponds to modern Budson, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the U. P.

Śalvas -- The Śalvas as a people are often mentioned in the Mahābhārata; in the Vanaparva they are also mentioned as Śalveyas (CCLXIII, 15576-82). They lived not very far from the Kurus and Trigarttas (Virāṭa P. I, 11--12; ibid, XXX). Satyavān was a Śalva prince (Vana P. CCXCII); the story of Kṛṣṇa's conquest of the Śalva country points to the fact that they were located somewhere contiguously with the Yādavas (Vana p. XIV-XXII; Udyoga p. XLVII. 1886; Drona p. XI. 395). Pargiter therefore thinks that the Śalva country was situated along the western side of the Aravalli hills.'

Jāngalas -- Pargiter's suggestion that the Jāngalas are the same as the people of Kurujāngalas is evidently correct, since they are mentioned along with the Kurus and contiguous tribes (see above), and there are no other people of this name mentioned in ancient texts or inscriptions.

Sūrasenas — Sūrasena lay not far from the country of the Kurus and the Matsyas. In fact, it was located immediately to the south of the Kuru country and to the east of the Matsya country. Sūrasena became famous in epic and pauranic literature because of its connection with Kṛṣṇa and the Yādava tribe. The country had its capital at Mathurā which stood on the Jamuna. The epic and pauranic story of Kamsa's attempt to make himself a tyrant at Mathurā by overpowering the Yādavas, and his consequent death at the hands of Kṛṣṇa is not only referred to by Patañjali but also by the Jātakas. The early Greek writers knew Sūrasena as Sourasendi 1. Presumably the Sūrasenas belonged to the Yādava tribe, for Mathurā, the capital of the Sūrasenas, is specially called the capital of the Yādavas and the kings ruling at Mathurā also belong to that tribe (Harivamśa, LVII, 3180-93; LXXIX. 4124-34, etc.).

Bhadrakaras—The location of the Bhadrakaras is difficult to determine as well as their identity; doubtless they are the same

¹ See Geo. E. B. by Law, pp. 20-21.

as the Bhadrakāras (Sabhā P. XIII, 590) and the Bhadras (Vana P. CCLIII, 15256) of the Mahābhārata. The people may be said to have had their habitat near about the Kurus, the Matsyas and the Sūrasenas. It is not improbable that the Uttamabhadras known in historical times as a republican tribe were a section of the epic and pauranic Bhadrakas or Bhadras.

Bodhas—The Bodhas are mentioned also in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XIII.590; Bhīṣma P. IX, 347), and perhaps also in the Rāmāyaṇa as Bodhis (Ayodhyā K. LXX. 15). These people were probably located somewhere in the eastern districts of the Punjab.

The reading Bāhyas of the Matsya purāna seems to be erroneous, since the name is not met with elsewhere, if of course, they are not equated with the Bāhikas.

Satapatha—This is unintelligible, and obviously erroneous. Pataccara is indeed a better reading, for a people of this name is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XIII, 590-91; XXX, 1108; Virāṭa P. I, 11-12, etc.).

After the catalogue of countries and peoples in the Madhyadeśa the Mārkandeya Purāna has the following passage:

> Sahyasya c'ottare yāstu yatra Godāvarī nadī l Pṛthivyāmapi Kṛtsnāyām sa pradeśo manoramaḥ ll Govardhanam puram ramyam Bhārgavasya mahātmanaḥ l

The Vāyu purāna, however, reads Sahyasya c'ottarārddhe tu instead of Sahyasya c'ottarē yāstu; the former indeed makes a better reading, for any people who are said to have been located just to the nothern of the Sahya mountains cannot be said to be within Madhyadeśa. According to the reading as given in the Vāyu and also in the Matsya (Sahyasyānantare c'aite) the people mentioned in this passage, i. e. the Bhārgavas, were located along the (northern half of the) Sahya mountains and the region in which the Godāvarī flows. "This region and the country west of it on the other side of these mountains and the tract northwards to the Narmadā", Pargiter points out, "are connected in many a story with Bhṛgu, his son Cyavana and his descendants (Mbh. Ādi P. CLXXVIII, 6802-10; Vana P. CXXI, CXXII, LXXXIX. 8364-65, CXV. 10150-2, etc.). The Bhārgavas were

however, a numerous race and spread into other regions: they are also mentioned as one of the eastern peoples" (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. LVII, 43). The Bhārgavas were probably identical with the Bhaggas of the Buddhist texts who were located at Suṁsumāragiri in the Majjhimadeśa.

APARANTA & UDICYA or NORTHWESTERN AND THE NORTHERN COUNTRIES

Vāhlikā Vāṭadhānāśca Ābhīrāḥ Kālatoyakāḥ II
Aparāntāśca Śūdrāśca Pallavāśsa Carmakhaṇḍikāḥ II
Gāndhārā Yavanāścaiva Sindhu-Sauvīra-Madrakāḥ II
Śatadruyāḥ Kaliṅgāśca Pāradā Hārabhūṣikāḥ II
Māṭḥarā Bahubhadrāśca Kaikeya Daśamālikāḥ III
Kṣatriyopaniveśāśca Vaiśya-Śūdrakulāni ca II
Kāmbojā Daradāścaiva Barbarā Harṣavardbanāḥ III
Cināścaiva tu Khārāśsa bahulā Bāhyato narāḥ II
Atrayāśca Bharadvājāḥ Puṣkalāśca Kaśerukāḥ III
Lampākāḥ Śūlakarāśca Culikā Jāguḍaiḥ Saha II
Aupadhāścānimadrāśca Kirātānāñca Jātayaḥ III
Tāmasā Hamsamārgāśca Kāśmīrastuṅganāstathā II
Śūlikāḥ Kuhakāścaiva Urṇā darvāstathaiva ca III
Ete deśā hyudīoyāstu......

(Mārkandeya Purāna, ch. 57. 35-42).

The northern peoples are the Vāhlikas, Vāṭadhānas, the Ābhīras, the Kālatoyakas, the Aparāntas, the Śūdras, the Pallavas, the Carmakhaṇlikas, the Gāndhāras, the Yavanas, the Sindhus Sauvīras, the Madrakas, the Śatadrūjas, the Kalingas, the Pāradas, the Hārabhūṣikas, the Māṭharas, the Bahubhadras, the Kaikeyas, the Daśamālikas, the settlements of the Kṣatriyas, the families of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras, the Kambojas, the Daradas, the Barbaras, the Harṣavardhanas, the Cīnas, the Kharas, and the various peoples who live outside, the Ātreyas, the Bharadvājas, the Puṣkalas, the Kaśerūkas, the Lampākas, the Śūlakāras, the Culikas, the Jāguḍas, the Aupadhas, the Animadras, the Kirātas, the Tāmasas, the Hamsamārgas, the Kāśmīras, the Tunganas, the Śūlikas, the Kuhakas, the Urṇas and the Darvas.

¹ Law, Geo. E. B., pp. 33, 43.

Vāhlikas—They are the same people as the Vālhikas or Valhikas. For a detailed account of this tribe readers are referred to my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, pp. 58-60.

Vātadhānas—The Vāyu Purāna reads Vādhadhānas which is evidently a mistake, for the people referred to are mentioned several times in the Mahābhārata under the name Vātadhānas (Sabhā P. I, 1826; Udyoga P. III, 86; Bhīsma P. IX, 354; Drona P. XI, 398). The Mahabharata includes the name of their king Vāṭadhāna under the Krodha-vasa group (Adi Parva, LXVII. 2695-9) to which also belonged the eponymous kings of the Vāhlikas, Madras and Sauvīras. Evidently the Vātadhānas were connected with these peoples and were located contiguously to these tribes. The Vatadhanas were also among the peoples that assembled on the side of the Kauravas, and from the reference as given in the Udyoga Parva (XVIII, 596-601) and Sabhā Parva (XXXI. 1190-91) it appears that the tribe was located somewhere on the eastern side of the Sutlej. According to Manu (X. 21) a Vāṭadhāna was the off-spring of an outcaste brahman and a brahman woman; "but', says Pargiter, "that is no doubt an expression of the same arrogance which in later times stigmatised all the Punjab races as outcastes..... "

Abhīras—According to the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P., XXXI, 1192) the Ābhīras were classed into three divisions. One dwelt along the Sarasvatī, one lived by fishing and may perhaps be interpreted as having their location along the sea-coast and the third dwelling on the mountains. Mahābhārata mentions them several times, and the Rāmāyaṇa at least twice in the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa (XLIII. 5 and 19). For a detailed account of the tribe readers are referred to my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II. pp. 51-54.

Kālajoṣakas—The Mahābhārata reads Kālajoṣakas instead (Bhīṣma P. IX, 354); but neither the Kālatoyakas nor the Kālajoṣakas are indentifiable.

Aparāntas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Aparītas and Matsya Purandharas instead; both are evidently erroneous. The Bhīṣma Parva list agrees with that of the Mārkandeya Purāṇa, and mention is often made of the tribe in the Mahābhārata as Aparānta

or Aparāntas (Bhīṣma P. IX. 355; Vana P. CCXVII, 7885-56; Śānti P. XLIX, 1780-82). Generally the term is applied to all the tribes living in the western region of India, but the Mārkaṇḍeya and the Bhīṣma Parva list must also be taken to signify a particular tribe. According to the astronomical list of the Mārkaṇḍeya (Chap. 58) the tribe seems to have been located north of the Sindhu-Sauvīra country.

Śūdras—In the Mahābhārcta the Śūdras are almost invariably associated with the Ābhīras (Sabhā P. XXXI. 1192; Bhīsma IX, 375; Droṇa P. XX. 798; Śalya P. XXXVIII, 2119-20); and were considered to be outside the pale of Aryanism. The Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣ K. XLIII, 19) and some of the Purāṇas read Śūras instead which certainly is erroneous. A definite location of the tribe is provided by a śloka in the Mahābhārata which places them in western Rajputana where the Sarasvatī disappears (Śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣād yatro naṣṭā Sarasvatī, Mbh. IX, 37.1).

The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali to which we can assign a definite date is perhaps the earliest authority that introduces the Śūdras in Indian history (Patañjali, I, 2.3). There the tribe is associated with the Ābhīras, a tradition which as we have seen is upheld by the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas as well (e.g., vide Viṣṇu P. by Wilson Bk. II, Chap. 3, p. 133). The Śūdras were evidently identical with the Sodrai (Fogdai) of Greek historians of Alexandar's time who place them in the western region of the Punjab.

Pallavas—The Vāyu Purāna reads Pahlavas (XLV. 115) which obviously is the correct reading, for the Pallavas were admittedly a southern people. The Pahlavas are generally identified with the Pehlavis or ancient Persians. The Bhisma Parva list of the Mahābhārata mentions two tribes of this name (IX, 355 and 375), "but there appear to be no data to make a distinction as the allusions to the Pahlavas are generally vague, unless it be supposed there was a Pahlava colony in the Punjab; and this supposition would suit this verse, for the Persians were altogether outside India. The Harivamsa says king Sagara defeated a great confederation of Pahlavas and other people, abro-

Carmakhandikas.—The Matsya Purāņa reads Atta-khandikas, or Cātta-khandikas, and the Bhīşma Parva list of the Mahābbārata (IX, 355) Carmamandalas instead. These names are not identifiable; but Pargiter's suggestion of its identification with Samarkand is interesting and ingenuous.

Gāndhāras—A great and famous people known from very ancient times. They practically occupied the whole lower basin of the Kabul river. Some passages of the Mahābhārata seem to suggest that the Gāndhāras were an impure people (Śānti Parva, LXV, 2429-31: CCVII. 7560-1; Karna P. XLIV, 2070; vide my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India," chap. IX).

Gabalas—The Vāyu and the Matsya Purānas read Yavanas instead which undoubtedly is the correct reading. The Yavanas may be identified with the Indo-Greeks and Greco-Bactrians who held sway over portions of the north-western frontier regions and the Punjab before and after the Christian era, though it seems that the people were known in India even before Alexander's time.

Sindhus and Suviras—The Mahābhārata refers frequently to the Sindhus; they are mentioned twice in the Bhīsma Parva list, once in connection with the Pulindas and another time with the Sauvīras (IX. 348 and 361). The Kūrma Parāṇa (XLVII. 40) mentions the Hūṇas, the Mālyas (doubtless misreading for Śālyas or Śālvas) and the Bālyas (not identifiable) along with the Sindhus and Sauvīras.

For a detailed account of these two tribes, see my "Ancient Indian Tribes", Vol. II, pp. 20-22.

Madrakas—They are the same people as the Madras or Mādras from which tribe came Mādrī, the second queen of Pāṇḍu. According to epic tradition they were closely related to the Sauvīras and Vāhlīkas (Ādi. P., LXVII, 2695-96). The capital of the Madra country was Śākala (Mbh., Sabhā P., XXXI. 1197) or modern Sialkot; and the river Irāvatī flowed through

Pargiter, Mark. P. p. 314 note.

^{3 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

the country (Matsya P. CXIV. 7 and 15-18). Later epic tradition brands the Madras as base and impure (Śānti P., CCVII, 7559-61; Harivamśa, XIV. 784).

Satadrujas—They are the people who dwelt along the river Sutlej; but the Vāyu Purāṇa reads Śakas and Hradas (XLV, 116), the Matsya, Śakas and Druhyas instead. The Śakas were a well-known people who left their traces on Indian history. They were first a northern and north-western people but gardually spread themselves towards the east and south and founded royal families as far east as Mathura and as far south as Surāṣṭra. The Hradas cannot be identified. The Druhyas were an ancient people, mentioned as early as the Rgveda along with the Anus.

Kalingas (? Kulindas or Pulindas) --- It is doubtless a copyist's error, for in no circumstance and never in history the Kalingas were located in the northern or northwestern country, though the Bhisma Parvalist (IX. 376) repeats the same mistake. The correct reading is perhaps Kulindas as given by the Vayu Purana (XLV. 116) or Pulindas as in the Matsya Purana (CXIII. 41). The Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata speaks of "all the countries of Kulinda" (CLXXVII. 12350) which seems to suggest that the Kulindas were distributed over different countries or a composite people consisting of different tribes. Passages in the Sabhā Parva seem to indicate that the Kulindas occupied the territory along the southern slopes of the Himālayas from the Punjab to Nepal (Sabhā P. XXV. 996: LI. 1858-59). The Pulindas were a hill tribe inhabiting the Himalayan region and were closely associated with the Kirātas (Vana p. CXL. 10863-65, Drona P. CXXI. 4846-47). Evidently they were aboriginal tribes and were considered as impure. The Rāmā. yana associates them with the Sabaras and seems to locate them somewhere in central India; this location is also upheld by some passages of the Mahābhārata (e. g. Sabhā P. XXVIII. 1068, XXX, 1120; Santi P. CCVII. 7559).

Pāradas—Like the Kulindas the Pāradas was also a hill tribe and were considered *mlecchas* dwelling on the slopes of the Himālayas (Cf. Sabhā P. L. 1832; LI. 1869; LI. 1858-9; Droņa P. CXXI. 4819; Hariv. XIII, 763-64; CXV. 6440-42; Manu, X. 43-44).

Hāra-būṣikas -- The variant readings are Hāra-pūrikas (Vāyu., XLV., 116) and Hāra-mūrtikas (Matsya, CXIII. 41). None of these names is identifiable. Pargiter suggests Hāra-hūnakas who are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a people outside India on the west (Sabhā P., XXXI, 1194; L. 1844; Vana P. LI. 1991).

Māṭharas -- The reading is evidently erroneous; the Matsya Purāṇa (CXIII. 43) reads Rāmaṭhas instead. There is a mention of the same people in the Mahābhārata which locates them in the west (Sabhā P. XXXI. 1195; Vana P. LI, 1991, Śānti P. LXV. 2430). The name of the people is also given as Ramaṭas or Ramaṭhas, as in the Vāyu purāṇa (XLV. 117) and also in the Mahābhārata. There is however no clue to their identification.

Bahu-bhadras — The variants are Bāhu-bādhas (Bhīṣma P. IX. 362) and Bālabhadras (Karṇa P. VI. 153) in the Mahābhārata, and Kaṇṭakāras and Raddha-Kaṭakas in the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇa (CXIII. 42 and XLV. 117) respectively.

Kaikayas, famous in the Mahābhārata as a powerful nation (Sabhā P. IV. 126; Vana P. CCLXVII 15654). It was from this tribe that came Kaikeyī, the second wife of Dašaratha. The Mahābhārata seems to associate the tribe with the Madras (Sabhā P. LI. 1870; Drona P.XX 799), it seems, therefore, that the tribe was settled in the Punjab. The Rāmāyana mentions their capital Rājagrha or Girivraja (Ādi K. LXXIX. 35-44) which, however, must not be confounded with the city of the same name famous in the time of the Buddha and in the early Buhdhist texts. Cunningham identifies the Rājagrha or Girivraja of the Rāmāyana with Girjāk, the ancient name of Jalalpur, on the river Jhelum (Arch. Sur. Rep., II, 14).

Dośamātikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Daśamāṇikas (XLV. 117) while the Matsya reads Daśanāmakas (CXIII. 42). The Bhiṣma parva list, however agrees with the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (Bhisma P. IX. 374) but it is difficult to identify or locate the people.

The Mārkandeya now proceeds to give a list of people dwelling evidently (Vāhyatonarāḥ) the borders of India. They were the Kāmbojas, the Daradas, the Barbaras, the Harsavardhanas, the Cīnas and the Tukhāras.

Kāmbojas — The Kāmbojas were a famous people dwelling in the extreme north of the Punjab beyond the Indus. According to epic and later Indian tradition, the country of the Kāmbojas was noted for a particular breed of horses; indeed references to Kāmboja horses are numerous in both the epics. The Mahābhārata associates them with the Cīnas (Bhīṣma P. IX. 373), the Yavanas and Śakas (Udyoga P., XVIII., 590) and the Daradas (Sabhā P., XVI., 1031). According to the same tradition they were considered to be outside the pale of Aryanism (Vana P., CLXXXVIII, 12338-40; Śānti P. CCVII. 7560-61. Vide my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India", Chapter VIII.).

Daradas—They were a hill tribe associated in epic tradition with the Kāśmīras (Mbh. Droṇa P. LXX. 2435); the Kāmbojas and the Cinas (See ante) and the Tuṣāras (probably Tukhāras; Vana P. CLXXVII. 12350). They were also considered as mlecchas. Vide Indian Culture, Jany 1935, p. 388.

Barbaras—Epic tradition connects the Barbaras with the Sakas and Yavanas (Mbh., Sabhā P.; XXXI., 1199; Vana P., CCLIII., 15254; Sānti P., CCVII, 7560-61); evidently they were neighbours of these tribes and were inhabitants of the north-western region. The country of the Barbaras seems to have extended to the Arabian Sea. Their port was called Barbarika which was probably identical with Barbaricum of the Greek geographers (Cunningham's A. G. I., Majumdar's Edn., pp. 693-95). Vide Indian Culture, Jany 1935, p. 388.

Harşavardhanas—The Vāyu Purāna reads Priya-laukikas in stead, but these names are not identifiable.

Cinas—Evidently they were the people of China, but here Cinas certainly do not refer to their original country. Presumably they were those Chinese people who had settled down along the Indian side of the Himālayas from the northwest to the extreme east. Thus in one place in the Mahābhārata (Bhīsma P. IX. 373) they are associated with the Kāmbojas which seem to

indicate that they were settled in the northwest while in another (Udyoga P. XVIII. 584-85) they are noticed among the soldiers who followed Bhagadatta, king of Prāgjyotisa, i.e., roughly modern Assam. Still there are other references which seem to indicate that they were settled not very far from the sources of the Ganges (Vana P. CLXXVII. 12350; Śānti P. CCCXXVII. 12226-29). They seem to have been a respectable and well-known people (Udyoga P. XVIII. 584-85). Their country was famous for a particular breed of horses (Udyoga P. LXXXV. 3049).

A people called the Apara-Cīnas (Western Cīnas) is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣ. K. XLIV. 15).

Tukhāras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Tuṣāras instead (XLV. 118). Both forms are admissible, and the Mahābhārata refers to the people in both the names (Sabhā P. L. 1850; Vana P. LI. 1991; Śānti P., LXV., 2429.). The Rāmāyaṇa also mentions the Tukhāras (Kiṣ. K. XLIV. 15). Epic tradition connects them with the Śakas, Daradas, Pahlavas, etc. They were considered to have been outside the pale of Aryanism.

The Mārkandeya then proceeds to give the names of a few more tribes and countries of the north: they were the Ātreyas, Bharadvājas, Puṣkalas, Kaserurakas, Lampākas, Śūlakāras, Culikas, Jāguḍas, Aupadhas, Animadras, Kirātas, Tāmasas, Hamsamārgas, Kāśmīras, Tunganas, Śūlikas and the Kuhakas, Urnas and Darvas.

Most of these tribes cannot be satisfactorily identified, for example, the Kaserukas, the Śūlakāras, the Aupadhas, the Animadras, the Tāmasas, the Hamsamārgas and the Kuhakas. Some of these names again are names more of families than of tribes, e. g., the Ātreyas, the Bharadvājas, etc.

Atreyas—In the Mahābhārata the Atreyas are said to have been residents of Dvaita—vana (Mbh. Vana P. XXVI. 971), a forest and lake near the Sarasvatī (Ibid, CLXXVII. 12354-62). The Harivamsa details the story of their origin from Rsi Prabhākara of Atri's race (XXXI. 1660-68). The tribe is also mentioned in the Bhīsma Parva list (IX. 376) of the Mahābhārata.

Bharadvājas—They are also mentioned in the Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 376) along with the Ātreyas. References in the Great Epic (Ādi P. CXXX. 5102-6); CLXVI. 6328-32; Vana P. CXXXV, 10700-728, etc.) to Rṣi Bharadvāja seem to locate the tribe, who evidently were descended from the Rṣi Bharadvāja, not far from the upper regions of the Ganges near the hills.

Puṣkalas—The name of the tribe seems to connect them with Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī (Rām. Kiṣ. K. XLIII. 23), the old capital of Gāndhāra. The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas read Prasthalas. The Prasthalas were evidently people of Prasthala (Virāṭa P. XXX. 971; Bhīsma P. LXXV. 3296; Droṇa P. XVII. 691), closely connected with Trigarta and therefore located probably in the Punjab.

Kuśerukas—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Kaśerukas and Matsya Daserakas instead, but none of them can satisfactorily be identified. Daserakas are however also mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. L. 2080; CXVIII. 5483; Droṇa P. XI. 397; XX. 798) as joining in the Kurukṣetra war.

Lampākas—The Lampākas are described in the Mahābhārata as a mountain tribe (Drona, P. CXXI. 4846-7). They are identified by Cunningham with the people of Lamghān situated to the north-east of Kabul (Anc. Geo. India, Majumder's Edn. pp. 49-50).

 $S\overline{u}lakaras$ —The Vāyu Purāņa reads Stanapas instead, but the name is not identifiable.

Culikas—The Matsya Purāņa reads Sainikas, and the Vāyu Purāņa reads Pidikas instead.

Jāgudas—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Jugudas, the Matsya Jāngalas. In another place, however, the Matsya Purāņa "mentions the Jagudas as a people through whose country the Indus flows(CXX, 46-48). But this indication is a bit too vague to admit of any definite identification. The Jāgudas are also mentioned in the Manābhārata (Vana P. LI. 1991).

Aupadhas-The Vāyu Purāņa reads Apagas instead (XLV.120). No identification is possible.

Animadras—The variant is Cānimadras or Cālimadras, as in the Vāyu Purāṇa.

¹ Pargiter, Mark. Purana p. 322 note.

Kirātas—For a full note on the Kirātas, see Indian Culture, Vol. I., No. 3, "Some Ancient Indian Tribes', pp. 381-82,

Tāmasas—The variant is Tomaras, as in the Vāyu Purāņa (XLV. 120) and in the Mahābhārata (Bhisma P. IX. 377).

Hamsamārgas.—They are also mentioned in the Bhīsma Parva list of the Mahābhārata. According to the Matsya Purāṇa, the river Pāosni flowed through the countries inhabited by Tamaras and Hamsamārgas. The description of the Matsya Purāṇa seems to locate the two tribes in the region east of Tibet.

Kāśmīras—They are undoubtedly the people of Kāśmīr. They are also mentioned in the Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 361 and 375).

Tunganas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Tangaṇas (XLV. 120) and more than once in the Mahābhārata, as Tangaṇas and Para-tangaṇas, (Sabhā P. LI. 1859; Bhīṣma P. IX. 372). According to the epic description they were allied with the Kirātas and Pulindas and lived in the kingdom (Vana P. CXL. 10863-5; Sabhā P. LI. 1858-59). They seem to have been a rude tribe, as their main fighting weapon was stone (Drona P. CXXI. 4835-47).

Sūlikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Cūlikas which are mentioned as a separate tribe in the Mārkandeya. According to the Matsya Purāṇa the river Cakṣu flowed through the country of the Śūlikas (CXX. 45, 46). In the Bṛṇat Samhitā mention is made of a tribe caîled Śaulikas (XIV. 8), but there the Śaulikas are associated with Vidarbha. The Harāhā inscription of the Maukharis makes a reference to the Śūlikas who are identified by some scholars with the Cālukyas; but that does not agree with the Paurānic description.

Kuhakas—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Āhukas or Ahukas instead. They may be the same as the Kurus of the Matsya Purāṇa who are said to have dwelt on the Indus. (CXX. 46-48).

Urnas—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Purāņas but none is identifiable except if we find in the Urnas a people inhabiting the Urnadeśa which Lassen places on the Sutlej near Garhwal. (Ind. Alt. map.).

Darvas—The Mahābhārata associates them with the Trigartas, the Daradas and other northern tribes to the north of the Panjab.¹

See also Pargiter, Mārk. P. p. 324 notes.

PRĀCYA OR EASTERN COUNTRY

"Hear from me the peoples who inhabit the Eastern countries. The Adhrārakas, the Mudakaras, the Antargiryas, the Vahirgîras, and the Pravangas also; the Rangeyas, the Mānadas, the Mānavartikas, the Brahmottaras, the Pravijayas, the Bhārgavas, the Jñeyamallakas, the Prāgjyotiṣas, and the Madras and the Videhas, and the Tāmraliptakas, the Mallas, the Magadhas, the Gomantas, are known as the peoples of the East."

Adhrārakas—It is difficult to restore the correct reading. The Vāyu Purāņa has (XLV. 122) Andhravākas.

Mudakaras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Sujarakas and not Matsya Madgurakas instead. None of these names is identifiable, but one may guess that here is a name which is a corrupt rendering of Mudgagiri or Modagiri, mentioned in literature and inscription and identifiable with the hills of Monghyr in Bihar. Monghyr was anciently known also as Mudgala-puri, Mudgalāśrama, etc. The Mudgalas or the people of Monghyr are also referred to in the Mahābhārata (Drona P. XI. 397).

Antargiryas—These people must be those dwelling in the hilly stretch of the Rajmahal ranges of the Santhal Parganas. They are mentioned in the Bhīṣma Parva list of the Mahābhārata.

Bahirgiras—They must also be said to have been associated with the hilly tracts of Bihar and from their mention along with the Antargiras it seems that the people meant were dwellers on the outskirts of the hills of Bhagalpur and Monghyr regions.

Pravangas—The Pravangas probably stand for those people who dwelt just in front of the Vangas (Pravanga), and they may be Angas.

Rangeyas—This is evidently a copyist's mistake for Vangeyas which is the reading of the Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV. 122). The Matsya Purāṇa however reads only Vangas. They are undoubtedly the people of ancient Vanga or Bengal. For a detailed account of the tribe see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes', Vol. II, p. 1.

Mānadas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Māladas (XLV. 122). It is a shrewd guess of Pargiter that here we have a reference to the people of modern Maldah in which are situated the old cities of Gaur and Pandua. The Māladas are also mentioned as an eastern people in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXIX. 1081-82; Droṇa P. VII. 183).

Māna-vārtikas--The variants are Mālavartinah (Vāyu P. XLV. 122) and Mānavarjakas (Mbh. Bhīṣma P. IX. 357); but none of these names are satisfactorily identifiable.

Brahmottaras--Pargiter suggests the reading Suhmotkalas ¹ which is neither intended nor necessary, for evidently a better suggestion is that of the Matsya which reads Suhmottaras meaning the people who dwelt north of the Suhma country.

Pravijayas—The Bhīṣma Parva list (JX. 358) of the Mahā-bhārata seems to read Prāvṛṣeyas; but none of the names is identifiable.

Bhārgavas—The Bhīsma Parva list mentions the same people as Bhargas; it is permissible to conjecture that they had been intimately associated with the prince Bhārga or Bhārgava who is referred to in the Harivamśa as having founded Bhrgubhūmi or Bhārgabhūmi (XXIX. 1587 and 1597; XXXII. 1753). They were perhaps an eastern branch of the Bhaggas or Bhargas of Sumsumāragiri.

Jūeyamallakas—The variants Geyamarthakas (Vāyu P. XLV. 123) and Gayamālavas (Matsya P. CXIII. 44), but none of these names is identifiable.

Prāgiyotisas—The Prāgjyotisas were a well-known people in both the epics; their country was a famous kingdom, evidently outside the pale of Aryandom. The Mahābhārata frankly refers to it as a mleccha kingdom which was ruled over by king Bhagadatta (Sabhā P. XXV. 1000-1; L. 1834; Udyoga P. CLXVI. 5804; Karna P. V. 104-5); in the same epic it is referred to also as an asura kingdom ruled over by the asuras Naraka and Muru (Vana P. XII. 488; Udyoga P. XLVII. 1887-92). It seems to have bordered on the realm of Kirātas and Cinas (Sabhā P. XXV. 1002; Udyoga P. XVIII. 584-5). According to the Raghuvamśa the Prāgjyotisa country lay evidently to the north of the Brahm-

¹ Mārk. Purāņa, p. 327 note.

^{4 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

putra river. It therefore seems that the kingdom included not only the Kāmarūpa country but also a considerable portion of north Bengal and perhaps also of north Bihar.

Madras—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Muṇḍas instead (XI.V.123) which is certainly the more plausible reading, for the Madras cannot in any way be placed in the Eastern region. The Muṇḍas are a well-known pre-Aryan tribe, and are mentioned as such in Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. LVI. 2410). The Matsya Purāṇa reads Puṇḍras instead which is certainly the best reading possible here. For a detailed account of the Puṇḍras see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes, 'Vol. II. p. 15.)

Videhas—Videha was a famous country from very early times; in very early texts the country is designated as Videgha (e. g. in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa) as well. The country, according to the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (I. IV. 1) was separated from Kosala by the Sadānīrā. The capital of the Videha country was Mithilā ruled over by a king named Janaka, and celebrated in both the epics epecially in the Rāmāyaṇa. Mithilā is identified by Cunningham with a small town called Janakpur not far from the Nepalese border where the two districts Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur meet (Arch. Sur. Rep. XVI. 34 and map.). The Videha country is thus identical with the northern districts of North Bihar. (Vide my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India," Chap. III.)

Tāmraliptakas—A variant is Tāmraliptikas. The people and the country are well-known in the Mahābhārata (Ādi P. CLXXXVI. 6993; Sabhā P. XXIX. 1098 Drona P. LXX. 2436). Other forms of the name are Tāmalipta or Tāmaliptaka (Vāyu P. XLV. 123) and even Dāma-lipta (Daśakumāracaritam). The country has left its trace in the modern Tamluk in Midnapur.

Mallas—The Vāyu-Purāna reads Mālas while the Matsya reads Śālvas, certainly erroneously. The people may be the same as the Māls or Mālas, an indigenous tribe now spread all over Bengal. (Vide my "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India", Chap. IV.)

Magadhas—They were the people of the region now represented by the modern districts of Patna and Gaya. For an account of the Magadhas see my 'Ancient Indian Tribes' (pp. 93-175).

Gomantas—The variant readings are Govindas (Vāyu Purāṇa XLV. 123), Gonarddhas (Matsya, CXIII. 45) but none of these names is identifiable.

THE POET BHANUKARA

BY

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Aufrecht mentions भानुकर (C. C. I, 405) as quoted in the प्यामृत-तरिङ्गणी by भारकर, son of आपाजिभट्ट. According to Bhandarkar (Collected Works, II, 324, no. 376)¹, भारकर, the author of the anthology, belonged to an अग्निहोत्रिन family and wrote a commentary on उत्तरनाकर in 1676 A. D. But our poet भानुकर enjoyed much more popularity as his verses are quoted in the following anthologies also.

I. प्रविणी by वेणोद्त्त, son of जगज्जीवन, grandson नीलकण्ड and belonging to a याज्ञिक family (Collected Works, II, 322, no. 375). He is the author of वास्रदेवकथा or चिरत, a poem in 7 cantos (C. C. III, 120) and of पश्चतत्त्वप्रकाश, a glossary which he composed in 1644 A. D. (C. C. I, 304 and 603).

II. सम्यालंकरण by गोविन्द्जी or गोविन्दाजित् (Collected Works, II, 325, no. 417).

III. सभाषितहारावळी by श्रीहारकवि (Peterson, Second Report, pp. 57-64 and no. 92; Poona, xviii A, 92 of 1883-4).

IV. रसिक्जीवन by गदाधरभट्ट of the 17th century A. D. 2 (C. C. I. 497; II, 116).

V. पदरचना by लक्ष्मणभट्ट आङ्कोलकर (Kāvyamālā, 89).

VI. स्रकिसन्दर by सन्दर्देव (Dr. Bhaudaji's Collection. Ms. no. 1237 B. B. R. A. S. The Ms. is written in देवनागरी. Old paper, 18 leaves. The name of the scribe is दामोदर and the date of the copy is शक 1632 [1680 A. D.]. It belongs to रामचन्द्र सहस्त. It quotes verses from 31 authors and gives their names).

VII. सारसंग्रह by इंग्रहास (Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. Asiatic Society, Bengal. By the late M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstrī, Vol. VII. no. of Ms. 5443).

¹ Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, edited by N. B. Utgikar.

² Sce—Notes on Indian Chronology, by Mr. P. K. Gode-V. Rasikajīvana of Gadādharabhatta and its probable date. *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XII, pp. 396—9.

³ See my article $S\overline{u}ktisundara$ of Sundaradeva (Calutta Oriental Journal, Feb. 1936, pp. 133-44). Sundaradeva flourished in the last quarter of the 17th century A. D. See also Mr. Gode's Notes on Indian Chronology, III (Poona Orientalist, July 1936, p. 55).

VIII. सभाषितसारसम्बयः (Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. by H. P. Śāstrī, Vol. VII. no. 5454).

This evidence is enough to prove the importance and popularity of our poet. But as yet his identity has not at all been established. In spite of the fact that Mr. Kane mentions भावकर or भावदत्त in his Index of Works ' (no. 507), and a भावदत्तामिश्र (nos. 508, 581 and 598-about 1300 A.C.), he has not been able to throw any light on the personality of भावकर. According to Mr. Kane भावदत्तामिश्र is the author of रसमञ्जरी and रसतराङ्गणी and lived at about 1300 A.D. To भावकर or भावदत्त Mr. Kane ascribes the authorship of अलकारातिलक in five chapters. 2

On भातुद्रत Dr. De remarks 3—" The form Bhānukara of this name is given by Śeṣṣ Cintāmaṇi's "Parimala, Gopāla's "Vikāṣa and Rangaṣāyin's "Āmoda commentaries. The title miśra is also appended sometimes to this name." I was able to examine a Ms. of होष चिन्तामाणि's रसमञ्जरीपरिमल (जैन भण्डार, उज्जमबाई की धर्मशाला, अहमदाबाद, डाबडो २६, नं. ९) and found the following introduction.— इह खल्ल सकलकविकुलसकुटमाणिमरीचिमंजरीनीराजितचरणकमलो इरचरणपरिचरणपरायणान्तःकरणः श्रीभातुकरनामा कविः etc. The Ms. bears the date वि॰ सं॰ १६८४=1627. A.D.

According to Aufrecht (C. C. I, 405 and III, 88) भाउदत्त is from मिथिला and he is the son of गणपति and grandson of महादेव. He is the author of अलंकारातिलक, रसमअरी. रसतरिक्षणी, ज्ञूकारदीपिका, गीतगौरीशित and इमारमार्गवीय. Of these works only रसमअरी, गीतगौरीपित and रसतरिक्षणी are printed 4. Dr. De has been able to prove successfully that all these three works are by one and the same writer. The date of the author, according to him, is earlier than the 14th century A. D. and later than the 12th century A. D. According to Mr. Kane, भाउदत्त's father गणेश्वर is very likely गणेश्वरमन्त्रिन, brother of वीरेश्वर, whose son चण्डेश्वर composed विवाद रस्ताकर and weighed himself in gold in 1315 A. D. "Therefore,

¹ Sahityadarpana, 2nd edn., 1923. Introduction.

² Ibid. p. CLXI. No. 40.

³ Sanskrit Poetics I. 245, In.

⁴ For editions, see Sanskrit Poetics I, pp. 245-54.

⁵ Sanskrit Poetics, I, p. 249.

⁶ Sahityadarpana, Introduction, p. CXVIII

भाउदत्त flourished probably towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.

But how is it that our poet is not at all quoted in the शार्क्षधरपद्धित which was composed about 1363 A. D.²? There are several verses ascribed to a certain भानुपण्डित but none of them is found in any work of our भानुदत्त. भानुपण्डित, as well as the वैद्यमानु of सद्किक्णांस्त, are quite different from our भानुदत्त. If we accept the date of भानुदत्त to be earlier than the 14th century or even the beginning of the 14th century, then he must have been known to the compiler of शाक्ष्यपद्धित. भानुद्त is a pet of the anthologists. पद्यचना quotes so many as 180 verses of his; रासिकजीवन has not less than 104 and सभाषितहारावळी can boast of at least 11. Under these circumstances, भानुदत्त's verses must have found a place in शाक्ष्यपद्धित if he had been living in the 14th century.

The error about his date seems to have started with Burnell's description of भानदत्त as a native of मिथिला. The fact that he wrote गीतगौरीपति in imitation of गीतगोविन्द of the great मैथिल poet जयदेव lent further support to Burnell's conjecture. And once this hypothesis was taken for granted, it was not difficult to identify his father गणपति or गणंश्वर with गणेश्वरमन्त्रिन् of मिथिला, brother of वीरंश्वर, whose son चण्डेश्वर composed विवादरानाकर and weighed himself against gold in 1315 A. D. Another fact which lent a support to the theory of the 14th century is that a Ms. of the रसमञ्जरीविकास by गोपाल (alias बोपदेव), son of नृतिंह is expressly dated in 1428 A. D. But the doubtfulness or rather the error about this date has already been pointed out by the late Śridhara R. Bhandarkar. The date of the Ms. of the commentary was read as 1484 and the era was taken to stand for the विक्रम संवत. But the late S. R. Bhandarkar observed (Report of the Second Tour 1904-6, p. 36) that the date was 1494 and not 1484 as given by Stein (extr., p. 273) and that it indicated the Saka era. Therefore, it stood for 1572 A. D. 3. As it will be proved later on, the observation of S. R. Bhandarkar is supported by other facts also.

¹ Sāhityadarpaņa, Int., p. CXVIII.

² Sanskrit Poetics, I, p. 249.

³ Sanskrit Poetics, I, pp. 251—2. I am very glad to find that my view is further supported by Mr. P. K. Gode in his Notes on Indian Chronology, XXX—"The Terminus ad quem for the date of Bhānudatta, the author of Rasamañjari (Annals of the B. O. R. I., XVI, pp. 145-7).

Now if we compare the list of commentaries on भाउदत्त's works given by Dr. De in his Bibliography ', we shall observe two facts. Of the commentaries whose dates are known none is earlier than 1553 A. D., and except for one, all the other commentaries seem to have been composed by writers bearing दाक्षिणात्य names. The exception is रासिकरञ्जती by वेणीदत्त तर्कवागीश भट्टाचार्य, son of विरिश्वर and grandson of लक्ष्मण. It seems strange that out of 19 commentators none bears a मैथिल name. The theory that भाददत्त is a native of मिथिला was somewhat thrown into doubt by the term विदर्भभूः found in some of the Mss. of रसमञ्जति. But as other Mss. had विदेहभू:, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar fixed विदेह as भानुदत्त's native place, as the poet "represents the river of the gods or the Ganges as flowing through his country; while the country of the Vidarbhas, which corresponds to the modern Berars, is situated to the south of the Narmāda." 2.

But in the above-mentioned Ms. of रममञ्जरीपरिमल by शेषाचिन्तामाणि भातुद्त्त is described as अभुएरनिवासिन. This seems to be equivalent to शिवपुरनिवासिन = Benares. His authorship of गीतगौरीपति, a poem in praise of शिव, also supports this view. There is another possibility. From the following verse one might suspect him to be a resident of Allahabad.

क्षोणीपर्यटनं श्रमाय विहितं वादाय विद्यार्जिता मानध्वंसनहेतवे परिचितास्ते ते धराधीश्वराः । विश्लेषाय सरोजसुन्दरदृशामास्ये कृता दृष्टयः कुज्ञानेन मया प्रयागनगरे नाराधि नारायणः ॥

रसतराङ्गणी, p. 35.

This can also explain the fact of his having so many दाशिणात्य commentators. For, it is a well-known fact that many families of महाराष्ट्र बाह्मण have long since been established at Benares and Allahabad. Again, if भानुद्र were a मैथिल and the son of गणेश्वरमन्त्रिन, one of whose relations weighed himself against gold, then he must have been living in affluent condition. But as it is evident from the verse quoted above and as it will be shown later on, he was wandering from place to place, seeking

¹ Sanskrit Poetics, I, pp. 251-4.

² Collected Works, II, p. 12.

patronage of various rulers. However, nothing can be said definitely about his native place and the problem raised by the two readings विदेश and विदर्भ yet remains to be solved.

Now I give the evidences which once for all settle the question of identity of भातुकर and भातुदत्त. Following verses which are found in रसमञ्जरी, रसतराङ्गणी and गीतगौरीपति are ascribed to भातुकर in the various anothologies noted against them.

भातुदत्त	भानुकर
विना सायं कोऽयं सम्रदयति, etc.	सभाषितहारावली 81 (8)
रसतरिङ्गणी (Benares edn.) p. 14.	रसिकजीवन fol.632,62.
	पद्यस्चना ३३. 25.
भित्तौ भित्तौ प्रतिफलगतं, etc. रसत् p. 42.	पद्यस्वना 72. 21.
निष्पीते कलशोद्धवेन जलधौ, etc. रसतः p. 45 a.	पद्यस्चना 21. 32.
& Ship in the ship	स्रक्तिसुन्दर 13 a, 3.
सौन्दर्यस्य मनोभवेन गणना, etc. रसत o p. 53.	रांसक° fol. 66 a, 98.
वीणामङ्के कथमपि सखी, etc. रसतः p. 72.	छ• हारावली 34 (70).
तातचरणानाम्	
अनुवनमनुयान्तं बाष्पवारि, etc. रसत० p. 77 a.	पद्यस्चना 84. 7.
क्रीडातुङ्गतुरङ्गटापपटली, etc. रस्त॰ p. 77.	पद्यस्चना 86. 19.
भ्यादेष सतां हिताय भगवान, etc. रसत p. 81 a.	पद्यरचना 2. 10.
	स्र॰ हारावली 6 (43).
	रसिक॰ fol. 9, 93.
दिव्यहरेर्म्चेलकुहरे, etc. रसत० p. 81 a.	पद्यस्चना 87. 26.
आत्मीयं चरणं द्धाति पुरतो, etc. रसमञ्जरी, 1.	पद्यरचना 72. 3.
गीतगौरीपति p. 90, 2.	
अकरोः किस्र नेत्रशोणिमानं, etc. रसम॰ ᢊ .	पद्यरचना ५३- ५.
गीतगौ॰ p. 146.	
गतागतकुतुइलं नयनयोः, etc. रसम० (परिमल)	पचरचना ४६. ४.
p. 7, 2.	
नीरात्तीरस्रपागता श्रवणयोः, etc.	प द्यरचना 50. 23.
रसम (परिमल) p. 11 a, 5.	
स्वापे प्रियाननविज्ञोकनहानिरेव, etc.,	पद्यरचना ५०. 24.
रसम० (परिमल) p. 14, 1.	
कान्तानुरागचतुरोऽसि मनोहरोऽसि, etc.	रसिक॰ fol. 72 a, 14.
रसम॰ (परिमल) p. 18, 14.	

भानुदत्त	भानु≉र
अयं रेवाकुञः कुसुमशरसेवा, etc. रसम॰ (परिमल) p. 23, 18.	पयरचना ५०. 26.
श्वश्रुः क्रध्यतु निर्दिशनतु स्रहृदोः, etc. रसम॰ (परिमल) p. 24 a, 18.	पयरचना 51. 29. रसिक॰ fol. 74, 34.
एते वाश्किणान् किरनित पुरुषान्, etc. रसम॰ (परिमल) 24 a, 19. त्वं दृति निरगाः कुञ्जं, etc. रसम॰ (परिमल) p. 28 a, 31.	पयरचना 51. 32. सु॰हारावली 25 (276)
वपुषि तव तनोति रत्नभूषां, etc. रसम॰(परिमल) p. 28,32. माला बालाम्बुजदलमयी, etc. रसम॰(परिमल) p. 31 a,39. वक्षोजखण्डितसुरा द्यितस्य, etc. रसम॰(परिमल) 32 a,42.	पद्यरचना ५४. 12. पद्यरचना ५३. 2. पद्यरचना ५४. ७.
विरमति कथनं विना न खेदः etc.रसम॰(परिमल) p.33a,48. नायं मुखति सुभ्रुवामपि, etc. रसम॰(परिमल) p. 47 a, 80.	पद्यरचना 53- 3- पद्यरचना 53- 6- पद्यरचना 47- 8-
जून्ये सद्मनि योजिता बहुविधा, etc.रसम् (परिमल)p.58,19. नीवेन तुलितं प्रेम, etc. गीतगौ॰ p. 18, 4. प्रदेतलावण्यं दरतरलपङ्करुहट्यो	पद्यरचना 74. 12. पद्यरचना 42. 18. यदेतल्लावण्यं भगवति
रजोलम्नं मार्गे निपतित पदाम्भोरुहयुगात् । विनिर्मातुं शातक्रतवपुरपङ्केरुहस्रखी— तदु पारैरपहरति मन्ये मनसिजः ॥ गीतगौ. p. 48, 7.	भवप्रेमलहरि त्वदीयाङ्घेर स्मात्पथि सह रजोभिर्वि- गलति । विनिर्मातुं शात
11. 11. 11. 11. 11. 11. 11. 11. 11. 11.	कत्ति । वपुरपङ्केरुहस्रसी- स्तदुञ्छव्यापारेरपहरति मन्ये कमलभूः॥
	पद्यस्चना 7. 38.

I think that this evidence is enough to establish the identity of भाउकर with भाउदन. In my article, "The Subhāsitahārāvalī of Śrī Hari Kavî and some poets enjoying the patronage of Muslim Rulers" (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. X, 1934, pp. 478-485), I have proved that भाउकर flourished in the middle of the 16th century A.D. I am now inclined to put him in the early part of the 16th century A.D. The प्राचना throws much light on भाउकर's age. Even at the risk of repeating some of the arguments already advanced by me in my article referred to above, I give below the details by which I fix his age. In प्राचना and other anthologies we find 2 verses of भाउकर in king रूजा's honour, 3 in वीरभाउं, 1 in Sher Shah's and 9 in Nizam's. They are as follows:—

\$ 201-

कृष्णं समरसतृष्णं दृष्टवतो [भान्ति] विष्टरश्रवसः । राजन्यजन्ममूले भुजमूले पुलकसुकुलानि ॥

पबरचना 16.3.

प्रस्थानं रितमन्दिरात्कमालिनीबन्धोरिप प्रेक्षणं काकुः केलिविधि विनापि चरणन्यासः पृथिन्यामपि । किं च क्कान्तमतालवृन्तपवनः प्रत्यङ्गमालिङ्गति वृष्टन्यं किमतोऽपि क्रुष्णनृपतेः प्रत्यर्थिवामभ्रवाम् ॥

पयरचना 27.63:

वीरभानु-

लङ्काधामानि वीरभानुनृपतेः प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापोद्यं प्रत्यागारमधीरनीरजट्टशो भूयो हुताशभ्रमात् । भ्रुभ्यद्वाणि विधूतपाणि विगलन्मुक्तामाणि प्रस्वलद् बाष्पश्रेणि विलोलवेणि द्यितं कण्टस्थले बिभृति ॥

सारसंग्रह 31 A; पवरचना 13, 23.

सूक्तिमुन्दर 10, 6, रसिक o fol. 13, 23.

भेरीभाङ्कृतिभिस्तुरङ्गानिनदैः कुम्भीन्द्रकोलाहलैः प्रस्थाने तव वीरभान दालितं ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोद्रम् । आधाय ज्वलति प्रतापदहने रङ्गैः पुनर्वेधसा तारानायकतारकामुरसारिङ्व्याजादिवायोजितम् ॥

सूक्तिमुन्दर 15, 7; पद्यरचना 18, 16.

रिसक o fol. 19 a, 76.

डिल्लीको द्वारदेको नसित गजपितस्तत्परस्तादुपास्ते गौडेन्द्रो नम्रमूर्द्धा तदनु नरपितिर्छर्जराधिश्वरोऽपि । श्रुत्वैवं वन्दिवृन्दादवनतवदनो गौरवं तत्र कुर्वन् वीरश्रीवीरभानो रचयसि पुछकं वीरछक्ष्मीकपोछे ॥

सारसंग्रह 31 A.

Although the name of भातुकर is not given in the description of सारसंग्रह but as it follows one of भातुकर's verses and is in praise of वीरभातु I am convinced that its author is भातुकर himself. Mr. Gode quotes this verse in his article on वीरभात.

5 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

सेरसाह-

श्लोकार्धे वा तर्धे यदि हि विनिहितं दूषणं दुर्दुरूढेः किं निश्छकं तदा स्यात् कविकुलविदुषां कान्यकोटीश्वराणाम् । वाहाश्चेद् गन्धवाहाधिकसुभगरयाः पञ्चषाः काणखञ्जाः का हानिः सरसाहाक्षातिपकुलमणेरश्वकोटीश्वरस्य ॥ सु॰ हारावली fol. 42, 273.

निजामशाह—

विद्वद्गोष्टीवरिष्ठ प्रतिभटद्मन श्रीनिजाम प्रतीमः कृत्वा त्वत्कीर्तिगाथां वहति गणविधिं पद्मयोनिः काठिन्या । वका छेखा ग्ररूणाममृतकरकलाकम्बुमल्लीमरालाः शुद्धा छेखा लघूनां विसभुजगनभोनिम्नगादान्तिद्न्ताः॥

पयरचना 10, 8; रसिक॰ 15, 45. क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह भवतः मौढेः प्रतापानछै-र्द्रागेव दवरूपतामुपगते चामीकराणां चये।

भ्रश्यद्वासवधामधोरणि मुहुर्मज्जद्ग्रहग्रामणि त्रस्यत्कामिनि निष्पतद्वनितळं मेरोः समुन्मीछति ॥

पगरचना 13, 24; रासिक o fol. 13, 23.

दाने द्राघीयासि कपटतः स्वस्ताद्दिन्याः कठिन्या..... तव कृतवता गारभित्तौ ।
नापि प्रापि कचिदपिशीनिजामद्वितीयस्तेनाकारि स्थागितमनसा वेधसा बिन्दुरिन्दः ॥

पगरचना 14, 32.

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह विलसित्सन्दूरकुन्दस्रजि स्रष्टा त्वश्वरणं विधाय निद्धे वैरिश्रियो मूर्धनि । सीमन्तस्य चकास्ति कापि सरणिस्तस्योध्वरेखाद्यः सिन्दूरस्य कणा जयन्ति किरणाः कुन्दानि मन्ये नखाः ॥

पद्यरचना 16, 4.

अयं कामो निजामो वा न्वया किमवधारितम् । इति दृष्टिरिव प्रदुं श्चितिं श्रयति सुभुवाम् ॥

पबरचना 17, 6.

वाहन्यूहसुरक्षतां वसुमतीं संवीक्ष्य कृळीवतीं भेरीभांकृतिचञ्चलेन पयसा वारांनिधिः सिञ्चाति । दिग्बाला तनुते निजामनृपतेर्वातं पताकांशुकै-भूलीभोरणिरश्विनीसुतमिव प्रष्टुं दिवो भावति ॥

पदारचना 18, 14.

ष्ट्रपतिनिजामचमूचरचरणार्पणबहरूपीडााभिः। रचयति बाहिरिव रसनामरुणध्वजकैतवादवानिः॥

पद्यस्वना 19, 17.

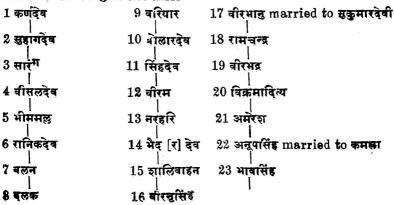
निजामवसुधाधिपे क्षिपति शोणकोणे दृशौ रणाङ्गणसमुद्धदेः प्रतिभदौर्विभिन्नीकृतम् । वपुर्विपुलवेपशु व्याथितमन्जिनीप्रेयसो वणज्वरविशङ्कृया किम्न पताकया स्पृश्यते ॥

पयरचना 19, 18.

क्षोणीकाम निजाम तावकभुजं लब्ध्वा भुजङ्गेश्वरं जानीमः करवालकालभुजगी किं नाम गर्भिण्यभूत्। यद्भिन्नेभकपोललोलाविगलन्मुक्ताकलापच्छला-दच्छामण्डपरंपरामधिरणं सूते स्फुरन्ती मुद्दुः॥

पद्यरचना 20, 26.

Fortunately it is easy to identify इंडण and Sher Shah. The former stands for इंडणदेवराय, king of विजयनगर (1509–1530 A.D.). Sher Shah's time is 1540–1545 A.D. The only difficulty which stood in the way of identifying वीरमानु has been now overcome by the publication of MM. Haraprasāda Śāstrī's Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., Vol. VII. Herein we find a Ms. of सोमदेव's कथा-सारितागर which was copied by इत्पाण, a poet at the court of मावसिंह of Rewah State. The scribe इत्पाण gives a genealogy of his patron who is 23rd in the line of Vāghela rulers of Rewah. Tracing their descent from कणदेव of Gujarat, the poet describes the various rulers and at the end mentions some of his contemporaries at the court. Following is the table:—



This account is corrborated by the account of Rewah State given in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXI, pp. 279 ff. I quote a few relevant passages below—

"Chiefs of Rewah are Baghel Rajputs, descended from the Solanki clan which ruled over Gujarat from the 10th to the 13th Century. Vyāghradeo, brother of the ruler of Gujarāt is said to have made his way into North India, about the middle of the 13th century and obtained the fort of Marpha, 18 miles north-east of Kalanjar. His son Karan Deo, married a Kalacuri (Haihaya) princess of Mandla and received in dowry the fort of Bandhogarh, which until its destruction by Akbar in 1597 was the capital of Baghel possessions....... In 1298 Karan Deo, the last Baghel ruler of Gujarāt was driven from his country by Ulughkhan, acting under the orders of the Emperor Ala-uddin. 1494 Sikandar Lodi advanced against Rājā Bhaira or Bhīra of Panna...... In 1498-9, Sikandar Lodi attacked Bhīra's son and successor, Śālivāhana, for refusing to grant him his daughter in marriage. '' The son of Salivahana was Bira Singh Deo (वीरविसंह of our ms.), founder of Bira Singhpur in Panna state. "He was followed by his son Bira Bhan who had lived for sometime at Sikandar's court. The next chief was Rāma chandra (1555-92), the contemporary of Akbar."

From this it is clear that बारभान, being a contemporary of Sikandar Lodi must have come to throne in the beginning of the 16th century. Sikandar Lodi died in 1517, so it must have been at the close of his reign that बीरभान lived at his court. For, we know that बीरभान 's son and successor रामचन्द्र ascended his throne in 1555 A. D. 1.

¹ Mr. P. K. Gode, in his article "Some data for the inentification of Virabhānu, the patron of the poet Bhānukara" (Calcutta Oriental Journal, 1934, p. 197ff), has found out some epigraphical records mentioning वारभानु. He arrives at the conclusion that this वीरभानु is identical with "a Hindu King called Bhānu, who was the grandfather of the brothers Mādhavasimha and Mānasimha, the favourites of Emperor Akbar (A. D. 1556-1605), and father of Bhagavantadāsa. This information is recorded in the Rāgamañjarī of Pundarīka Viţthala in the following verse—श्रीमत्कच्छपवंश्वीपकमहाराजाधिराजिश्वर—तेज:युज्जमहाप्रनापनिकरो भानुः क्षितो राजते। तस्यासीद्भगवन्तद्रासननयो वीराधिविरिश्वरः क्षोणीमंडलमंडनो विजयते भ्रमंडलांखंडलः॥"

Now, our poet being patronised by बीरभान should be placed in the beginning of the 16th century A. D. So far only 3 verses of our poet in honour of बीरभान have been found. But we find 9 verses in honour of निजास. This shows that our poet spent more time at the court of निजास than at the court of बीरभान. This is

Although, chronologically speaking, this King माउ of कृच्छपवंश might coincide with our वीरमान, still I am inclined to think that both are different. Our वीरमान, belongs to वावेलवंश. In the first place we find that our poets patron is विरमान or विरमान, which is the name of the Rewah ruler also. The king of कृच्छम family is simply मान. Secondly, our poet sings the praises of विरमान and निजामशाह (Sikandar Lodi). It has been shown that विरमान and Sikandar Lodi (निजामशाह) were closely associated with each other. Hence there is stronger reason to identify our poet's patron with विषेत्र विरमान than with the कृच्छमवंशीय मान.

[N. B.-Mr. Gode writes to me in a letter dated Poona, 13th March, 1935—"Since writing my note in the Calcutta Journal I have come across some further data about a King Vīrabhānu whose grandson Vīrabhadra wrote a work in A. D. 1577. This King belongs to the Vāghela dynasty. As the grandson of Vīrabhānu wrote in A. D. 1577, Vīrabhānu must have flourished between 1500 and 1550 A. D. In this hypothesis two points of identification are useful, viz., (1) the name Vīrabhānu and (2) the date of Vīrabhānu's grandson which is A. D. 1577.'' |

We find another mention of वीरभानु of वाचलेवज्ञां in प्रद्योतनभट्टाचार्य's commentary शरदागम on चन्द्रालीक (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 75. 1929).

अस्य स्थितितो नगरी भवतोऽयोध्या भवत्यखिला । इति रघुवंशादधिको जयित वघेलाभिधे। वंश ।। ३ ॥ देवेपतोर्व शक्तिर्यस्य जये भूभृतां प्रथिता । श्रीवीरभद्रदेवस्तत्र धराऽऽखण्डलो जातः ॥ ४ ॥ दशरथतो रघुपतिरिव तस्मादिह वीरभानुभूपालः । आवद्धधर्मसेतुर्जगिति समुद्रे समुद्भूतः ॥ ५ ॥ तत्त्वनयो नयनिर्मलकीर्तिः स्वर्तिम्नगामूलम् ।

Here the editor gives the following footnote -- विरमद्दक।रितग्रन्था-तरपरामर्शनो ऽत्रत्यप्रकरणानुसन्धानाञ्चात्र पञ्चमपष्ठः येथोमध्ये.................................र राभचंद्र नामकनृपवर्णनपरमेकं पद्यमपेक्षितं भाति ।
The colophon at the end of the commentary is -- इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरामचन्द्रदेवात्मजयुवराजवीरभद्रदेवा।देशमिश्रशीवलभद्रात्मजसकलशास्त्रारिवन्दग्रद्योतनभद्राच्याविराचित
चन्द्रालोकप्रकाशे शरदागमे दशमो मयूखःसमाप्तः ॥ Now, this confuses our position of
वीरभानु, who is here made the son of वीरभद्र and grandson of रामचन्द्र According
to the genealogy given in the Ms. of कथासरित्सागर, वीरभानु is the father of
रामचन्द्र. The grandson of रामचन्द्र and the son of विरमद्र bears the name of
विक्रमादित्य. I am inclined to think that विरमानु is a mistake here for विक्रमादित्य,

further supported by निजाम's date. In my article referred to above I identified this निजाम with Nizam Shah Boorhan Shah I (1510-1553 A.D.) of the Nizamshahi dynasty. But now I think that निजाम stands for Nizām khān, son of Bahlol Lodi. Nizām khān later on assumed the title of Sikandar Lodi (See-Smith: India in the Muhammadan Period, 1923, p. 254). Therefore, we can draw the conclusion that our poet भानुकर spent major part of his life at Sikandar Lodi's Court (the time of Sikandar's reign is 1489-1517) and must have met वीरमात there. At the death of Sikandar he seems to have gone to the court of बीरमान. After a short stay there he seems to have migrated towards the south and enjoyed the patronage of ऋष्णराय of विजयनगर. But his wandering nature or the death of ऋष्णराय in 1529 prompted our poet once more to move towards the North where he visited the court of Sher Shah. That he had a chequered life is evident from his wanderings, and that he was respected and deserved respect at all places is evident from the works he composed and the verses which have replenished so many anthologies.

His father गणपति also must have been a poet of high order. Not only does भातुकर speak highly of him in—

ताते निर्मच्छाति गणपतौ नाकमयापि तस्या वाचां देव्यास्त्यजाति शिथिलं कङ्कणं नैव दोष्णोः। अद्याप्यादींभवति कुचयोर्नापि पाटीरपङ्को नेत्रे निर्यत्पयासि न पुनः कज्जलं स्थैर्यमेति॥

रसत∘ p. 23.

but verses of गणपति are quoted in रसिकजीवन, पद्यवेणी, पद्यासृततरिङ्गणी, सम्पालंकरण and पद्यरचना. There is no doubt that he is different from the गणपति mentioned by राजशेखर in जह्नण's स्किस्कावली, and his namesake whose verses are quoted in सद्दिककर्णास्त.

In the ms. of कुमारभार्गवीय Dr. De has found the pedigree of भातुकर as follows: रत्नेश्वर,-सुरेश्वर (author of शारीरकभाष्यवार्तिक) विश्वनाथ-सवनाथ-सहादेव-गणपति-भातुदत्त.

¹ Sanskrit Poetics I. p. 250. I cannot agree with Dr. De when he identifies सुरेश्वर with सुरेश्वराचार्य or मण्डमीश्वर, the author of शारिकभाष्यवार्तिक, for the latter was a contemporary of शकराचार्य (8th century A. D.) and it is impossible that the 5 ancestors of भार्कर intervening between मुरेश्वर and himself could have lived away 700 years between themselves, unless we suppose that भार्कर has dropped the names of some of his unimportant ancestors.

Our poet must have visited the court of king इत्यादेवराय of विजयसगर for a short time and probably in the latter part of his eareer. It is here or at the court of बॉरभानु that he sang—

यवनीनयनाम्बुधोरणीभिर्धारणीनामपहाय तापवह्निम् ! सुकृतद्रुमसेकमाचरन्तं धृतकल्कं प्रणमामि निर्विकल्पम् ॥

रसिक o fol. 10, 106.

It is most probable that he wrote his गीतगौरीपति, रसमञ्जरी, अलंकार-तिलक, ज्ञूकारदीपिका and कुमारभागेबीय in the prime of his life and रस-तरिक्वणी was his last work as is evident from the verse क्षोणीपर्यटनं अमाय विदितं, etc., quoted above.

As already pointed out amongst his works गीतगौरीपति, रसमञ्जरी and रसतरिङ्गणी have been published, but others are still in ms. form. That our poet is the author of कुमारमार्गनीय is inferred from the following verses which are apparently quoted from that work in प्रयासना-

रामे बाह्मणवेषधारिणि धनुर्धृत्वा कराम्भोरुहे संजन्याक्छिकास्त्रमारचितुं कैछासमाकर्षति । तात त्राहि सुत प्रयाहि द्यिते निर्याहि सौधाद्द्दि-वारं वारमयं पुरान्तकपुरक्षोभः शिवायास्तु वः॥

पद्यरचना 3, 14.

मूर्झो मन्मथशासितुर्विगिलिते शीराशयास्वादिते वक्त्रे बालतुषारभासि पारितः कण्टोदरे तिष्ठति । शेषं वीक्ष्य विलोलशोणनयनं भिन्नाधरीष्ठश्रियं व्यातन्वन्करतालिकां विहसितं बालो विशाखो दधौ ॥

पबरचना 6, 32.

शृङ्के शिरीषमालां कण्ठे घण्टां पदेषु मक्षीरस् । विन्यस्य प्रतिभवनं भर्गवृषं भ्रामयामास ॥

पद्यस्वना 6, 33.

As regards अलंकारतिलक and ज्ञाह्मरदीपिका, it is very difficult to pronounce any judgment before their Mss. are thoroughly examined.

In the end I am tempted to give those verses of भानकर which are nowhere printed but found only in the Mss.

रे रे कोकिल मा भज मीनं किंचिदुदश्चय पश्चमरागम् । नो चेत्त्वामिह को जानीते काककदम्ब[म्बं:]पिहिते चूते ॥ समिक० fol. 34°, 152.

संकेतकेलिगृहमेन्य निरीक्ष्य शून्यमेणीदृशो निश्व[त] निःश्वसिता-धरायाः।

अर्थाक्षरं वचनमर्थविकाशि नेत्रं ताम्बूछमर्थकवछीकृतमेव तस्थी। ibid fol. 76, 59.

स्फुरदुरसिजभारभङ्गुराङ्गी किसलयकोमलकान्तिना पदेन। अथ कथय कथं सहेत गन्तुं यदि न निशासु मनोरधो रथः स्यात्॥ ibid fol. 77*, 62.

बद्यति हृदि यस्य नैव लज्जा न च करुणा न च कोऽपि भीतिलेशः। चकुलमुक्तुलकोशकोमलायां [भां] पुनरपि तस्य करे न पातयेथाः॥ ibid fol. 77°, 84.

कान्ते कनकजम्बीरं करे किमपि कुर्वति । आगारिलखिते भानी बिन्दुमिन्दुमुखी दधी ॥

ibid fol. 794, 87,

सा चन्द्रसुन्दरमुखी स च नन्द्सूनुदैंबाश्विकुक्षभवनं समुपाजगाम । अत्रान्तरे सहचरस्तरणौ कठोरे पानीयपानकपटेन सरः प्रतस्थे ॥ ibid fol. 80, 96.

ईषत्कम्पपयोधरं गुरुकटिप्रांढपहाराद्धृतं स्विग्रद्धालमनेकहास्यसरसं संरम्भमन्द्र्ययम् । वारं वारमुरःपहारसुभगं [सं] दृश्यमानाधरं किंचिद्रवृत्तानितम्बदर्शनवरं धन्यो रतं सेवते ॥

ibid, fol. 101, 95.

पाथोदजालत [ज १]टिलं...... शरदङ्कना । अम्बरं धावयामास चन्द्रिकाचयवारिभिः॥

ibid, fol. 115, 97.

अलक्षितकुचाभोगं भ्रमती नृत्यभूमिषु । स्मरेणापि चकोराक्षी न लक्ष्यीक्रियते हारैः ॥

ibid, fol. 135, 104.

दुःखं दीर्घतरं वहत्यापि सखीवर्गाय नो भाषते हीवाळैः शयनं सृजन्यापि पुनः शीतेन वा लज्जया। क॰ठे गद्गदवाचमश्चाति दृशोर्धते न बाष्पोदकं संतापं सहते यदम्बुजसुखी तद्देद चेतोभवः॥

सु॰ हारावली 34ª (62).

पायाद् बुद्धवपुः स यत्र सहसा व्यालोडयत्यागमा-नोंकारेण भयातुरेण चलितं बिन्दुं विहाय क्वचित् । ओंकारः करपङ्कजं पुराभिद्ये भेजे त्रिश्लुच्छलाद् बिन्दुश्वकामिषेण कैटभरिपोस्तस्थौ कराम्भोरुहे ॥ दत्तं मया पदमिदं नवयौवनाय त्वं सत्वरं कचन शैशव साध्यति । कामस्य हस्तालिखिताक्षरमालिकव रोमावली विजयते जलने-

क्षणायाः ॥

रसिक॰ fol, 65, 93.

इयं मुष्टा चश्चत्कनकलतिका पङ्क (ज) भ्रवा निषक्ता लावण्यामृतरसभरेणानुदिवसम् । अकस्माद्रोमालीमभ्रुपपटलीह स्कुराति यत् ततः शङ्के पुष्पोद्गमसमयमायातमभ्रुना ॥

ibid, fol. 662, 95.

रचयाति युवनेत्रक्षेत्रपीयूषवृष्टिं नवजलधररेखारोमराजिच्छलेन । यदुदयति कलापिप्रक्रियेयं तदुचै(ः) स्तनघनसमयोऽस्यामाविरस्ती-

ति विद्यः॥

ibid, fol. 66a, 97.

पद्भ्यां मुक्तास्तरलगतयः संश्रिता लोचनाभ्यां श्रोणीभागस्त्यजित तनुतां सेवते मध्यभागः। धत्ते चक्षुः कु[क] चसचिवतामद्वितीयत्वमास्यं तद्वात्राणां गुणविनिमयः कल्पितो यौवनेन ॥

ibid, fol. 79a, 142.

लोलालिपुक्षे बजतो निकुक्षे स्कारा बभूबुः श्रमवारिधाराः। देहे समीहे भवतो विधातुं धीरं समीरं नालिनीदलेन ॥ ibid, fol. 72^a, 13.

द्वित्रैः केलिसरोरुहं त्रिचतुरैर्धिम्मल्लमलीस्नजं कण्ठान्सौक्तिकमालिकां च तद्नु त्यक्ता[क्त्वा] पदैः पश्चाभिः । अन्तः कान्तावियोगकातरतया दूराभिसारातुरा तन्बङ्गी निरुपायमध्वानि परं श्रोणीभरं निन्दति ॥

ibid, fol. 772, 61.

x + x + x x

Dr. S. K. De has appended in this very number of the Annals a note on my article. Therein he contests my evidence for proving the identity of भाउदत्त with भाउकर. According to him the evidence supplied by anthologies should be taken very cantiously. But the external evidence of so many as eight anthologies and the internal evidence of both भानुदत्त and भानुकर referring to one निजामधरणीपाल or निजामशाह, cannot be easily dismissed on the slender ground of unreliability of anthologies, unless some positive evidence to the contrary is forthcoming. भातुकर belongs to the middle of the 16th century and amongst the anthologies that quote him परावेणी belongs to the middle of the 17th century स्रक्तिसन्दर to the last quarter of the 17th century and रासिकजीवन to the 17th century. So, even if we do not known the date of प्यास्थाना for certain, the above-named three anthologies, which were composed within about a hundered years of भानुकर's date, could not have committed one and the same mistake of confusing भानुदत्त with भानकर.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIGURES OF SPEECH IN THE RGVEDA*

BY

ABEL BERGAIGNE

Translated into English by A. Venkatasubbiah
COMBINATIONS OF INCOHERENT METAPHORS

[20] The first verse of the hymn to Savitr, X, 149, begins thus: "Savitr has restrained the earth with the reins; Savitr has sustained the sky in the space without support". Up to this point, the verse speaks only of cosmogonic marvels with a very harsh allusion to the bizarre representation of the worlds in the form of mares brought to a stop by the god who has organised the universe. Now the atmosphere is, like the earth, compared to a horse. It is also compared to an ocean or to a cow. As horse, it is capable of being fastened; as cow, it is capable of being milked; but what a strange combination of these diverse figures is presented by the second half of our verse: "He has milked the atmosphere like a trembling horse, the ocean fastened in an inaccessible place."

The conception of a god 'propping up' the sky and the earth is one very familiar to the Vedic poets. The author of the verse I, 62, 7 keeps all this when comparing the sky and the earth to two 'women'.

The separation of the two worlds is compared to that of two skins. But what makes the formula of the verse VI, 8, 3 bizarre is that the two worlds receive in it at the same time the name of 'couples'": "Agni has separated the two couples like two skins". This figure of the 'couples', which suits well only the conception of the two worlds as the two recipients of the

^{*} Continued from pp. 61-83, Annals, B. O. R. I. Vol. XVII, part (i).

Ludwig rejects the meaning given to the word [ANOII] by Roth. This meaning however seems to be the one which explains best the different uses of the word. Grassmann admits it, but he replaces here the figurative word by the unfigurative expression 'the worlds'.

waters or of the Soma, produces a no less singular effect in the verse I, 160, 1 which shows us the sun 'pursuing his way' between the two couples, and adds that these two couples are well-born. The same figure denotes also the three worlds in a passage where they ought to be represented rather as three cows, since it speaks of three bulls that fecundate them: "The three bulls, brilliant and separate, fecundaters of the three couples", V, 69, 2.

The Dawns are sometimes cows and sometimes warrior virgins. In the verse I, 92, 1, they are at the same time called cows and compared to warriors who make ready their weapons.

They are also compared, however strange the idea may seem to us, to the sacrificial posts, IV, 57, 2. It is more easy to understand why they are compared to birds, and particularly, [21] in case the word EU can be taken in its classical sense and interpreted as swans, that is to say, as birds with red wings. Hence without doubt the strange formula: "The brilliant posts have come towards us like swans that rush in flocks", III, 8, 9.

The Dawn is also at the same time a 'mare' and the mother of 'cows', IV, 52, 2. We have already mentioned the bizarre combination that makes of the celestial ocean an ocean of 'cows'. By the addition of another figure which assimilates the diffusion of light to the effusion of the waters, one arrives at the 'splendour of the Dawn containing an ocean of cows', II. 34, 12. Grassmann suppresses here the idea of 'ocean': Ludwig replaces the idea of 'cow' with that of 'milk'. The mountain is the mythological figure of the cloud and the sky; the horse is that of the lightning or the sun. By combining them,

ullike Ludwig, Grassmann avoids connecting the genitive धिष्णानां with रेतोधा:. But the combination of ideas that I have dwelt upon is the more easy to admit inasmuch as it occurs again in a well-known myth. See VII, 33, 11 and 33.

² See below, p. 30 ff. The formula however appears to be capable of being also explained in the sense that the Dawn gives an ocean of cows, and it is, without doubt, in this way that we should understand in the the verse X, 76, 3 the juxtaposition of the epithets 'that has an ocean of cows' and 'that has a garment of horses'. Regarding the metaphor of the garment, see below, p. 36.

one thus gets the explanation of the idea that the lightning or the sun delays in appearing: "The mountain does not give the horse", V, 54, 5. Grassmann, who has indicated in his dictionary the correct meaning of the word AFRAI has then given to it an interpretation which must without doubt be regarded as a lapsus. Ludwig proposes two meanings, one of which is the correct one; but he seems to find it unintelligible.

The lightning is a fire that may be considered as sustained, like the terrestrial fire, by fuel. This fire dwells in the waters of the sky, which, on their part, are called cows. Thus it comes about that there are 'cows' containing 'fuel', II, 34, 5.

'Cooked in the raw ones' is a well-known expression for the 'milk in the cows.' 4. Although this formula can have a meaning when applied to natural cows and although in fact milk is called the offering 'cooked in the udder', 5 X, 179, 3, it nevertheless seems to me certain that it is also applied and principally, like that of 'the milk, white, brilliant, [22] in the black cows and the red cows', 6 to the raw cows, that is to say, to the frigid ones of the sky 7, Nights, Dawns and clouds, whence issues the brilliant splendour of the sun or the lightning.

Now if the clouds are cows, they are also fortresses that retain the waters as prisoners. The words for 'cow' and 'fortress' play

^{1 &}quot;Den kein Ross erreicht".

² The other implies the existence of a word naśva=naśvara.

³ इन्चन्यन् . Cf. the classical indhanvant. The translation of Ludwig, 'flammend', and even that of Grassmann, 'flammenreich' are only approximate.

⁴ The idea of milk is actually expressed in the verses I, 62, 9; 180, 3; that of cows in the verses I, 180, 3; II, 40, 2; III, 30, 14; IV, 3, 9; VI, 17, 6; 44, 24; 72, 4; cf. VIII, 32, 25. The enigma is complete in the verse VIII, 78, 7 only.

⁵ This explanation, which is so simple, has escaped Grassmann who assigns arbitrarily to the word $\overline{u}dhar$ the meaning of 'vessel'.

⁶ I, 62, 9; III, 3, 9. Cf. VI, 72, 4; VIII, 82, 13.

⁷ Not to speak of the use of the word 医闭口 I, 180, 3; II, 40, 2; VI, 17, 6, which contains at least an allusion to the Dawn-cows (Religion Vedique, I, p. 316), it will be observed that not only do all our formulae celebrate the work of a god putting the cooked milk into the raw cows,

thus the role of veritable equivalents that may replace each other in the mythical formulae, in the same way as the chemical equivalents replace each other in combinations of matter. We have a very curious example of this equivalence in the formula 'raw fortresses', II, 35, 6, which at the same time confirms the application of the formula 'raw cows' to the celestial cows. and specially to the clouds. These fortresses are the abode of Apam Napāt, the son of the waters, that is to say, of the celestial fire who takes the place here of the cooked milk contained in the raw cows. But what is no less curious than the expression itself. is, on the one hand, the manner in which it has been interpreted by Ludwig, and on the other, the manner in which Grassmann has effaced the figure. The former supposes that the 'raw fortresses' are fortresses 'built with raw bricks'. The latter translates 'the sombre fortresses' (sic). He has however, according to an indication given in his dictionary, recognised that the epithet 'raw' of the 'fortress-clouds' is here given to them through apposition to the fire which is born in them. But he does not seem to have understood the relation of this expression with the formula of 'raw cows'. In any case, he has not merely, according to the process of translation which is familiar to him. replaced the idea expressed by the idea suggested : he has replaced it by an idea that is quite strange to the text. [23]

but that almost all either reveal plainly by some term (पूजी I, 180, 3, जार्म-बिणा IV, 3, 9) their mythical character or depict clearly at the same time other works accomplished by the gods in the sky, VIII, 32, 25. Thus such are, in the verse VI, 17, 6 the opening of the doors 'of the sky'; in verse II, 40, 2, the dispersion of darkness; in verse VIII, 78, 7, the rising of the sun. In the verse III, 30, 4, the 'cooked thing' which the 'raw' cow carries is called 'a great light, placed in the entrails'. It may also be observed that the 'cooked thing' placed in the cows receives in verse X, 106, 11 the name of Hg (cf. IV, 3.9), denoting apparently the same liquor to which the verse III, 39, 6 assigns feet and hoofs, that is to say, the Soma. But there is still better to come. In the verse X, 99, 10, it is under his own name that the Soma is placed in the entrails and in the udder of the cows. Finally, in verse X, 45, 3, we see Agni 'kindled in the udder' of the sky. Cf. below, p. 29.

Similar, too, is the procedure of Ludwig; in the formula of 'raw cows', he replaces the idea of 'raw' by that of 'living', I, 180, 3; III, 30, 14; cf. IV, 3, 9.

The Maruts are, on the one hand, stags, and on the other, priests. They are therefore the stags that 'sing', I, 165, 1.

Like the Maruts, the companions of Brhaspati are celestial priests. The warm rain of the summer is their sweat. But this rain is also the milk of the sky, and it is a warm milk.³ It can therefore be said that they have 'warm milk as their sweat', X, 67, 7. Those who, in order to avoid this bizarre combination, would uphold the interpretation, which however is uninteresting, of Grassmann and Ludwig, 'perspiring on account of the heat', should first bring this translation into accord with that which the same scholars have given of the verse VII, 103, 8 (cf. 9).

Agni the fire, who is sometimes a sage and sometimes a horse, becomes in verse 1, 149, 3 a 'sage horse'. The same Agni is not only the horse that carries to the gods the sacrifice in general and the prayer in particular, he is also the driver who yokes and guides the prayer. The two ideas are combined in the verse I, 65, 1: "(Agni) who yokes the obeisance and who draws the obeisance". Here Grassmann gives the correct meaning, and Ludwig rejects it.

The priests lead by the bridle the horse Agni, IV, 11, 9. But, on the other hand, it is he who impels them, who 'awakens' them. It is therefore said, by mixing up the two figures and by adding to them a metonymy, that he 'awakens the bridle of the troop (of the priests)', V, 1, 3. The translations which Grassmann and Ludwig give of this passage differ as much from each other as they do from mine. 4

Agni and Soma are both assimilated sometimes to a calf and sometimes to a priest. It is one of these two gods of the sacrifice who is called in the verse VIII, 61, 5 a 'calf' that 'praises' its mother.

In spite of Grassmann and Ludwig and the Pada-patha even, the word value in a hymn to the Maruts, can only have the meaning of 'stag' or 'antelope'.

⁸ On the meaning attributed to the root rc by Grassmann, see Religion Vedique, I, p. 277.

है इमें Cf. VII, 103, 8 and 9, and Religion Vedique, I, p. 292.

⁴ The most improbable one is indisputably that of Ludwig: "Die Kette der lebenden Schaar'.

Soma, like Agni, is a horse. To make him flow is to guide a yoked horse. This is the function of the pressing stones that are, however, themselves called males (horses or bulls), either because of their strength, or by way of allusion to the celestial bulls and horses that shed the rain. Soma is therefore a horse yoked by horses (or by bulls), IX, 97, 28.

Soma is also an eagle. The vat into which he flows is his garment [24] or his armour.² Thus then we have an eagle that is covered with armour, IX, 67, 14.

We have seen above the sun assimilated with a strainer through which is filtered a Soma who is no other than the light itself of that heavenly body. Elsewhere the rays of the sun become the fingers that filter this same Soma. Now they are also represented under the name of Eta as mares. There are thus 'ten harits' which 'filter Soma' and make him bright, IX, 38, 3.

The rays of the sun are also arrows. This explains the formula 'Soma filtered by the arrow of the sun', IX, 76, 4. Grassmann has understood this passage whose meaning seems to have totally escaped Ludwig. But he has not perceived some corollaries that can be drawn from it, particularly in the explanation of the metaphor The 'arrow', applied to the fingers that express the sacred beverage, and in that of the word Aq, which is translated as 'finger', but whose real meaning seems likewise to be arrow. There are here, it seems to me, allusions to the fingers that press the solar Soma, that is to say, to the sun's rays assimilated at the same time with arrows. They give rise to a new series of combinations whose strangeness is not surpassed by that of the multitude of formulae that we have already studied.

Grassmann and Ludwig avoid the paradox, the former by giving to to contrary to all probability, the meaning of 'Mann', the latter by employing the preposition 'mit' instead of 'von' in translating the instrumental, which gives a formula without any definite meaning. Add in the same category of ideas the formulae of the verses IX, 64, 15 and 96, 2, where the horses that 'guide' Soma and the 'bays' that 'curry' the 'bay' are, without doubt, the priests themselves or their fingers.

² Grassmann and Ludwig weaken the expression.

³ See Religion Vedique, I, pp. 201-204 and 206-207.

The pressing stones are represented as 'carrying the Soma on their back', VIII, 52, 2. But the Soma himself is represented as a horse. Hence 'the stone that carries the horse on its back', VIII, 26, 24. The two formulae are mixed up by Grassmann in the same translation, 'the stone that carries the Soma'. The second formula thus loses all its force; it is explained but not translated. But this explanation is at least correct. What however can we say of the interpretation that Roth gives in his dictionary of the word Tays, 'stone carried on the back of a horse'? and of that of Ludwig '(stone) large like the back of a horse'?

The celestial treasures, the waters for instance, are represented sometimes as cows and sometimes as the fruits of a tree. Combining these figures, a poet says to Indra: "Make cows fall for us by shaking (the tree of the sky!)", I, 10, 8. On the other hand, the falling of the rain is considered as a sowing of the field which it fertilises; and it is said of the Maruts that they [25] sow the cloud, VIII, 7, 4. But the waters of the clouds are at the same time cows, and the clouds themselves are mountains. We therefore see Brhaspati, after his victory over the demons, drawing out the 'cows' from the 'mountain' in order to 'sow' them like the corn which is taken from bushels of corn, X, 68, 3.

The making of Soma by pressing has been assimilated 4 to the churning of butter and to the operation, denoted by the same root manth 'to churn', of kindling the fire by rubbing. On the other hand, it is, according to a well-known myth, by an

¹ Cf. III, 45, 4. Ludwig's translation: "Raffe uns in Sturm zusammen die Rinder" does not present any definite image. As for Grassmann, he replaces 'shaking' by 'throwing' and 'cows' by 'milk'. On this last point, see below, p. 30ff.

² Here it is Ludwig who removes the metaphor while Grassmann retains it.

³ The meaning of the word Eura is doubtful; but the interpretation of Grassmann, 'Aehre', and that of Ludwig, 'Worfel', are mere conjectures like that of Roth which I have adopted. The latter has at least the advantage of completing a definite, and if I do not err, very satisfying, meaning.

⁴ See in the verse I, 28, 4, the use of a मन्ध् (instrument of churning) in the pressing of the Soma.

^{7 [}Annals, B. O, R. I.]

eagle that Soma has been carried from the sky. Finally, the sky or the cloud, whence the Soma can likewise be taken away, is a mountain. Hence the formula: "The eagle has churned (taken away by churning!) the Soma from the sky'', IX, 77, 2 or 'from the mountain', I, 93, 6. When the Soma is considered as held (i. e., confined) by the demon Namuci' Who-does-not-give-up' in the most remote portion of the sky which is therefore called the 'head of Namuci', Indra makes him come out of this 'head' by 'churning', in the same way as 'the eagle' has 'churned' for him the intoxicating plant², VI, 20, 6.

Regarding the compound EAHO 'that churns' the offering,' VII, 104, 21, we can replace it by ARHO applied to Dadhikrāvan in the verse IV, 38, 5, where this mythical horse is compared at the same time to an 'eagle' and a 'thief' who 'churns a garment'. The thief is not different from the eagle, and the latter is the carrier of the celestial Soma; it churns for this Soma the celestial butter, that is to say, the waters of the sky, that become his garment. It is thus that the water mixed with Soma in the preparation of the sacred beverage serves him as a garment, according to a metaphor that has become commonplace in the hymns of Book IX. The allusion to the robbing of the Soma by the eagle appears to have totally escaped Grassmann and also Ludwig.

Finally, a third compound, ত্রান্থি 'that churns the sheep,' is in verse VIII, 55, 8, the epithet of the wolf 'that observes the rites [26] of Indra'. This sheep and this wolf can be no other than the Soma and the pressing stone 4. It is the sacrificer himself who is compared with the wolf in a verse of the Athar-

On the Vedic uses of the root manth and on the possibility of bringing all these uses under the meaning of 'to churn', see Religion Vedique, III, p. 7 and note 3.

² I do not know through what construction Grassmann could have arrived at the translation that he gives of this passage. Ludwig translates correctly, but he has committed the mistake of abandoning, as does Grassmann, the radical meaning of the root manth.

³ This meaning is placed beyond doubt by the parallel epithet आविवासत . The Yatus there are the enemy sacrificers.

⁴ Regarding the role of the wolf in the Soma myths, see Religion Vedique, III, pp. 7-10 and note 3.

vaveda, V, 8, 4, where the priest, when praying to the gods to spare the life of his client, seeks, like the author of the verse II, 28, 5 of the Rgveda, to interest them by means of the consideration of the sacrifices which a living man could offer to them: "May he, living, churn the sheep like a wolf'. In the verse VIII, 2, 2, the formula concerning Soma, which is translated as 'pressed by the stones', signifies perhaps literally 'pressed by the wolves'. In fact, the word अत्रे to which Grassmann and Ludwig, following Roth, give in this passage alone the meaning of 'stone', signifies etymologically 'devouring', and is elsewhere used as an epithet of a demoniacal animal.

If now, we bear in mind that the falling of the rain is considered as the sowing of a field which it fertilises, and if we consider, on the one hand, that the rain which falls from the sky contains the celestial Soma whose direct action on the crops¹, is, however, also established by many texts, we shall understand that the 'wolf' representing the celestial pressing may become the instrument by means of which the Aśvins 'sow', I, 117, 21, or according to another expression, 'plough'? VIII, 22, 6, the field of corn. Thus becomes futile a hypothesis which is however very ancient since it goes back to the Nirukta, according to which, in these two passages², the word vrka 'wolf' signifies 'plough'.

Like the prayer in general, the hymns, the verses, are cows. The verses have feet, but these feet are eight in number. Hence the cows with eight feet, II, 7. 5. For Ludwig, the cows with eight feet are the pregnant cows; but is not the epithet अद्योपदी (having eight feet) in the verse VIII, 65, 12, expressly given to speech itself? Grassmann interprets the words as I do, but translates differently by understanding the word 'verse'.

Religion Vedique, III, p. 9, note 1.

² Cf. I, 23, 15; Pūṣan, with the drops of Soma, has 'realised' six yoked (oxen) and has 'ploughed, as it were, the field of corn' with these oxen.

In these two passages only! In passages which evidently speak of a mythical ploughing and sowing, since the ploughers and sowers are the Asvins! For a more complete argumentation of this point, see Religion Vedique, III, p. 9, note 1.

We have seen that the composition of the hymns is compared to the purification of the Soma. By combining this figure with that which assimilates the sacrifice to a textile woven by the priests [271 on a warp, we obtain the formula: "The warp of the sacrifice is stretched on a strainer at the point of the tongue by Varuna's puissance", IX, 73, 9. It is in fact Varuna who confers wisdom and eloquence, I, 105, 15. The words वर्णस्य मायया form a well-known phrase and one should not therefore detach, as does Ludwig, the genitive वर्णस्य from it and attach it to जिहाया: As for the translation of Grassmann: 'at the commencement of the sacrifice', it is futile to discuss it.

The prayer is the wife of Indra. But it is also a lowing cow. Indra has therefore a 'wife' that 'lows' after him, IV, 24, 8. The commentary which Grassmann gives to his translation of this passage proves that he has not understood its real meaning.

The prayers are weapons, arrows. The priests are bulls. Hence the 'bulls' yoked to the yoke of the sacrifice who have 'arrows' in the 'mouth' and who hit the 'heart', I, 84, 16. Ludwig has understood that this expression denotes the priests. Why then has he not seen that in the verse, II, 24, 8, the 'arrows' discharged from the bow of Brahmanaspati, who has the sacrifice 'for his string', these arrows that have 'the ear for womb', are the prayers?

The prayer is not only the weapon of the gods; it is also, according to a figure no less familiar to the Vedic rsis, a garment which is put on them. It is the combination of these two figures that explains the following formula adressed to Indra: "Thou hast hit the enemies with beautiful garments", VI, 33, 3. Despite the manuscripts of the Nighantus which give Ach (instead of Ach which however has the meaning of hymn only) among

Neither Grassmann nor Ludwig has understood the word ऋतुउर्य.

² And not, 'that are brought back in the rear up to the ear' as understood by Grassmann, and without doubt by Ludwig also. The poet indicates thus the provenance of the prayers that are collected by oral tradition.

the names of the lightning, I venture to maintain against Grassmann and Ludwig that this word can have no other meaning but 'garment'.

Every danger is a river or a sea to be crossed over and the instrument of salvation is the ship. This metaphor is so commonly used that a poet in begging Agni for the salvation of his chariot (in the war) and of his house (during peace) implores him for a 'ship for his chariot and for his house', and in order that this ship may more quickly transport his house and his chariot over the ocean of danger, he wishes that it may have 'feet', I, 140, 12. Grassmann and Ludwig weaken this last trait in a translation that is however accurate as regards the rest and, in consequence, already noticeably strange. The scruple has here taken hold of them somewhat late.

The god himself, the saviour god Indra, is a 'ship' that [28] the priests make use of by yoking (like a horse) 'to the yoke' of their 'hymn', I, 131, 2. Ludwig obliterates all the force of this formula. Grassmann gives, like him, to the word \(\frac{1}{2}\) 'hymn' the meaning 'force'; but he goes further by making a pile (sic) of the 'yoke', dhur.

TRIPLE AND QUADRUPLE GALIMATIAS.

I do not believe that I can characterise better than by this title the formulae similar to those that follow.

Indra is the son of the sky and of the earth. But Indra is a bull, the sky and the earth are two couples, and in the mythical language of the Rgveda all generation is readily compared to the work of Tvastr 'the carpenter'. It is said therefore that "the two couples have carpentered the bull", VIII, 50, 2. Grassmann who substitutes for the three figures the ideas which they represent, translates, if it can be called translation, as "the worlds have engendered the strong one".

The prayer is of celestial origin; it is the sister of the gods, VII, 23, 2; VIII, 12, 31. But it is also a weapon, either in the

¹ Ludwig does not admit the meaning 'couple' for [] see p. 20, note 1,

hands of men or in those of the gods. This latter idea is one of those most familiar to the Vedic poets. Combining this with the preceding one and using a word recalling the natural meaning, one arrives at the formula 'saying of sister-weapons', which is met with in the verses VIII, 6, 3 and X, 8, 7. The greatest mistake of Grassmann and specially of Ludwig in their translations of these two passages has been their neglect or misunderstanding of the complete comparison.

Nor, moreover, have they seen their connection with another formula, 'he has caused the brother bow to glow', VIII, 61, 4, where the prayer-weapon is more implicitly compared to the fire. The addition of this new image can be explained the better inasmuch as the god referred to here is Agni.

The celestial Soma comes out of the cloud. The cloud is a cow. Soma is a hero or a horse; or rather Soma is a 'liquor' that has 'feet', that has 'hoofs', and that Indra finds in the 'cow', III, 39, 6. The waters of the sky are sometimes the milk of a celestial cow [29] and sometimes are themselves cows. Hence the 'cows' that come out of an 'udder', and what is stranger, from the 'udder of a male', as a consequence of the confusion of the figures which make the cloud sometimes a male and sometimes a female: "He (Agni) knew how to find, when being born, the udder of his father; he made streams to run from it, the cows 5", III, 1.9.

¹ Ludwig gives to this formula too a translation that is quite fantastic: "Die Doppelflache hat er in Brand gesetzt".

² The words गृहा हितं etc., that follow in the verse seem to indicate plainly that there is only one thing spoken of here, only one object, denoted by the substantive मधु and by the adjective पद्भ and शुफ्त . In any case, Ludwig's translation 'durch die Fuss (spuren)', etc., is hardly admissible.

Doubtless, it is through inadvertence that Ludwig confounds viveda with veda.

⁴ Grassmann seems as if he would conceal the paradox by the equivocal word 'Busen'; Ludwig translates very well as 'Euter'.

⁵ Regarding चेना (Grassmann, 'Trank', Ludwig, 'Stimme'), see below, p. 31, notes 1 and 2.

This formula, moreover, is not an isolated one. In the verse IV, 22, 6, are again spoken of the 'cows' which come from the 'udder' of the 'male'. In this passage, Ludwig, overcome by a scruple which did not make him halt in the preceding one, replaces the expression 'udder of the male' by 'the udder that rains.' Grassmann retains the expression 'udder of the male', but transforms the 'cows' into 'milk'.

The mixing up of the cows and of milk is implicit in many other formulae beginning with this: "To milk the cows out of obscurity", I, 33, 10, for 'make them come out'. But this observation can be generalised. This is what I am going to do in the next paragraph after citing an example of what I call 'quadruple galimatias'.

The celestial fire, sun or lightning, or the Soma who is identical with the fire in these forms, is sometimes the 'calf' and sometimes the 'cooked' and resplendent milk of the 'raw' celestial cow. It is also a 'sluggard' when it lingers in an abode that is more or less confounded with the cow itself and is also called, in allusion to the malevolent forces which retain the celestial treasures, the abode of 'deceit'. These different figures are combined in verse 3 of a hymn, X, 79, which however almost exclusively contains enigmas. The verse concerns the action exercised on the celestial fire or Soma by the terrestrial fire 'seeking the hidden retreat of its mother', and says: "He¹ found like a sluggard the brilliant cooked one sucking in the lap of deceit".

METAPHORICAL USES OF THE WORD in 'COW'

The word in whose usual meaning is 'cow' has, according to the majority of interpreters, [30] become in current usage

I Grassmann and Ludwig suppose, contrary to all probability and particularly to the interpretation adopted by Ludwig for the first hemistich, that the subject of the verb avidat is the 'mother'. Regarding the meaning of the word rip, cf. Ry and see Religion Vedique, III, p. 179. Ludwig makes Ry: an accusative plural without taking into account similar formulae where this word figures always as a genitive singular. Grassmann gives to it the meaning 'earth' which nothing justifies. Concerning the meaning that I assign to the word HH, see the myth of the slumber of the Rbhus in Savitr's abode, that is to say, in the invisible world.

by a sort of metonymy the name of different products like the milk of the cow or the butter made from this milk, the skin made from the hide of the same animal, and the straps or the bowstring made of this skin. It is indisputable in fact that the same word which in certain passages denotes either real cows or mythical cows - Dawns, waters, prayers, offerings, serves also to denote the cowhide on which the Soma juice is extracted, the straps of the chariot, the string of the bow, and above all the butter sacrificed in the fire or the milk mixed with the sacred beverage. But it denotes these different objects like offerings of all sorts, prayers, waters and the Dawns, only because they are, in the phraseology of the hymns, either regularly or accidentally assimilated to cows. The figure is less a metonymy than a metaphor. It is also very probable that it is a purely mythical and liturgical figure and not a popular ope. Finally, and this point is the most important, it is always a figure that is felt as such and has not become a current appellation. Neither the archers nor the drivers, nor the women that milked, of the Vedic period gave, I believe, to the strings of their bows, to the straps of their chariots or to their milk, the name of 'cow'. And in any case to substitute according to the occasion the words 'milk', 'straps', 'strings' for 'cows' as the lexicographers and translators have done is to interpret the text rather than to translate it; it is to interpret the text so as to remove from it the mythical colour which ought to form the principal interest for us.

They retain nevertheless this colour in more than one passage. Grassmann in his Woerterbuch has remarked that the word go, in the plural, often denotes the drops of milk conceived as the cows towards which rushes the bull Soma. He and Ludwig translate correctly many formulae, like that in the verse IX, 97, 13 for instance, where Soma is represented as a bull bellowing after the cows. There is in it an allusion to the union of the celestial Soma with the Dawns or the waters of the sky, those other cows whose milk is one of those represented in the operations of the cult. This allusion is the raison d'etre of the metaphor; and it would furnish the justification in a multitude of passages in which Grassmann and Ludwig have

¹ Cf. IX, 96, 7.

felt that they ought to replace the figurative word by the unfigurative one.

It is necessary however, even in the formulae whose details are in accord with the metaphor, that the translators should at all times be consistent with themselves. Grassmann, on the other hand, in the verse IX, 96, 14, shows us Soma 'united with the milk 'although [31] the epithet 'bellowing' given to the male beverage should have induced him to keep the name 'cow' for the female beverage. This is what Ludwig has done in this passage. On the other hand, in another, still more decisive passage, in which Grassmann translates correctly as 'like a man who goes to meet a woman at the rendezvous, he unites himself with the cows in the vat', IX, 93, 2, Ludwig has deemed it proper to translate 'he has united himself with the milk'.

Nor is this all. In these two passages, the word which expresses the idea of 'cow' and suggests the idea of 'milk', is not go' but उतिया. Now it would in the first place be difficult to admit, in the formulae in which it is the word go' that denotes the milk, a complete forgetfulness of the original signification that is still so vividly felt in other similar formulae, and to the allusion to which the metaphor, in my opinion, owes its origin. But it is still more difficult to conceive of a similar effacement of the meaning in many synonyms at the same time. I say 'many', and in fact, to the words go' and उत्तिया Grassmann and Ludwig add the word चेन and the former the word चेन also as the names of the cow that have parallelly become capable of denoting 'milk' without any figure.

¹ Ludwig gives to this word the meaning 'voice, hymn', and the Nighantus do in fact include it among the synonyms of $v\bar{a}c$. The truth is, however, that it can have, like $\exists \vec{q}$, only the meaning 'cow' which is sufficiently established for it by its etymology, and by a formula like that of the verse V, 62, 2, 'the cows of the stable', but that, like the other names of the cow, it can denote and does in fact sometimes denote, the prayers. Thus in the verse X, 104, 10, the 'cow' that 'implores' Indra is certainly the prayer; cf. VII, 94, 4 and X, 104, 3. But elsewhere, the word $\exists \vec{q} \vec{q}$ denotes other forms of the mythical or liturgical cow, for instance, the celestial waters; see below.

^{8 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

which are found cited in Grassmann's Woerterbuch, two only deserve to be mentioned, and have, in fact, been already mentioned above. In one, the 'river' that contains all the 'cows', IV, 19, 6, is, we have seen, the river that contains all the waters. In the other, III, 1, 9, the reader who can willingly accept Ludwig's 'udder of the father', will not, I hope, make too much difficulty in admitting, with me, that this 'udder' from which Agni comes is not that of the milk but of the 'cows'.

In a formula almost identical with the verse IV, 22, 6, the [32] 'cows' that 'flow out' from the 'udder of the male' are denoted by the word चेनु and here Ludwig bravely keeps the word 'cows', for which Grassmann substitutes 'milk'. Elsewhere it is on the contrary Ludwig who substitutes for the figurative word the unfigurative one, while Grassmann, at least in his translation, reverts to the meaning 'cows' in the case of the word चेनु. This passage which speaks of the 'foregathering' of Soma with the 'cows' represented as beautiful women, IX, 61, 21, brings us to the formulae concerning the sacred beverage.

In the verse IX, 72, 1, the word $\exists \exists$ denotes again the 'cows' with which Soma is anointed in the vat. The same formula is many times repeated with the word go'. This combination has displeased Grassmann and Ludwig who have everywhere substituted the word 'milk' for 'cows'. This is the case with the passages where the vat 'is explicitly mentioned, IX, 85, 5; 86, 47; 96, 22. But in others, IX, 45, 3; 50, 5; 103, 2; 107, 22, there is room for doubt if the 'unguent' in question is that of the

¹ Regarding VII, 94, 4, and X, 104, 3, see the preceding note. It is possible that in the verse VII, 24, 2, the word and likewise denotes the prayers. It certainly denotes in the verse 11th 58, 6, the prayers assimilated with the offerings of butter (see above, p. 14). In the verses VIII, 32, 22 and X, 43, 6, the context is not such as to enable us to determine the meaning.

² P. 18. This is, for the rest, the interpretation of Grassmann in his translation; only, he has suppressed the figure.

³ P. 29.

It is said of the vat itself that it is, 'anointed with the cows', IV, 27, 5; IX, 74, 8.

⁵ See particularly IX, 50, 5.

milk or of 'the prayers'. For, the Vedic priests 'anoint', for instance, Indra and Visnu with the 'unguent of prayers', VI, 69, 3, as they 'anoint' Mitra and Varuna with 'cows', I, 151, 8. On the other hand, the prayer 1 of the Sobharis is 'anointed with cows' by the Maruts, VIII, 20, 8, that is to say, without doubt rewarded with cows. In brief this metaphor of the 'unguent' is commonplace in the hymns for expressing an enhancement of splendour. The gods take on a new splendour through the prayers, the prayers through the cows that are their reward, and the Soma likewise through the cows, which may represent the hymns chanted in his honour or the milk with which he is mixed. In the verse IX, 10, 5, the comparison 'the Somas are anointed with cows as kings with praises 'suggests rather the identification of the cows with the prayers. But even in those places where milk is spoken of, the milk is denoted only by a figurative expression whose plain meaning is cow, and the unguent of cows should arrest the attention of the reader if only because of the bizarre combinations of words with which he is already familiar. The prayers however and even the milk are no more a real unguent than the cows, and if my translation of the verse IX, 32, 3: "He is anointed with cows like a horse" is paradoxical, that of Grassmann "He is anointed with milk like a horse" is unmeaning.

One might think that it is the butter that serves as unguent. None the less, I translate the second pāda of the verse V, 1, 3, which can [33] in fact be applied to the sacrificial butter, on the analogy of the formulae already cited, as 'Agni, brilliant, is anointed with brilliant cows'. And I have the less scruple in doing so inasmuch as the verse begins with another bizarre formula already cited above, "He has awakened the bridle of the troop", and ends in the same paradoxical style.

Moreover according to an observation that has also been made above, the mere fact of the change in the terms गो and चेनु in the formula 'to anoint with the cows' should be a reason to keep this word 'cows' for which Grassmann and Ludwig have

Or the music? Aut I do not know whence Ludwig gets the meaning 'Zapfen'.

² Cf. V, 3, 2. Cf. also X, 31, 4.

substituted the word 'milk'. The same argument could be applied in the case of the formula 'cooked by the cows' where too these two interpreters have made the same substitution. But here it is sufficient to oppose them to themsleves and to point out the inconsistency which they commit in translating in certain passages, VIII, 2, 3; 71, 5; IX, 46, 4; 107, 2; 109, 15 and 17, as 'cooked with milk' a formula which in other passages, where the idea of 'milk' is expressed at the same time as that of 'cows', VIII, 58, 3; IX, 84, 5, they have themselves been obliged to translate as 'cooked by the cows'.

Further though it is shown by these passages and others also where the formula is in fact 'cooked with milk' or 'cooked with curdled milk', VIII, 2, 9; IX, 11, 6, that the cows that cook the Soma can represent the milk with which he is mixed, it does not necessarily follow that these cows represent the milk only. And in fact, we read in the verse IX, 84, 5 that the cows cook the Soma with their milk 'and with their prayers'.

That is, 'to cook the Soma' does not mean to cook him materially as believed by Grassmann who understands this formula as referring to 'hot' milk. The cows that represent the milk or the prayers can be considered as 'cooking' the Soma

¹ The word धेन is used in the verses I, 84, 11; IX. 1, 9; 86, 17.

In his translation Grassmann says simply 'mixed with the milk', as if he had abandoned the meaning which he had adopted in his Woerterbuch for the root \$r\$\tilde{i}\$ and reverted to that of Roth. Elsewhere however, he keeps to this meaning, or rather, only modifies it into that of 'heat', 'to heat', VIII, 58, 3; IX, 86, 17, cf. 84, 5. Finally it will be seen below that the verse IX, 93, 3 suggests to him the meaning of 'covering up the hot milk'. In the verse IX, 71, 4, he prefers the meaning 'to anoint'. This is really too much to pass by without comment. For the rest, he has already in his Woerterbuch translated the compound in the rest, he has already in his Woerterbuch translated the compound in the rest, he has already in his Woerterbuch translated the compound in the rest, he has already in his Woerterbuch translated the compound in the rest, he has already in his Woerterbuch translated the compound with as 'mixed with milk'. I translate it as 'cooked with cows', as I do in other compounds, should signify 'that which serves for cooking', that is to say, for making perfect the offering.

³ Ludwig translates thus the verses IX, 71, 4 and 93, 3 also, and Grassmann, the verse IX, 86, 17, with the exception that he attenuates the meaning of 'to cook' into that of 'to make hot'. In this verse Ludwig connects the verb asisrayuh with the root sri'to go towards'.

because they complete the preparation in the same way as a real cooking [34] completes the preparation of the other offerings. But this expression contains chiefly an allusion to the celestial Soma, to the sun or to the lightning 'cooked' in the 'raw' cows. that is, in the Nights, Dawns or clouds. This is so much the case that in the verse I, 84, 11, the cows that cook 1 the Soma receive not only the name धेनवं: but also प्रश्नयः which moreover is alone used to denote them in the verse VIII, 58, 3 and evokes already by itself the idea of the clouds that is symbolised by the wellknown Prśni, although the passages in question do not, as we shall see, lay stress on the idea of the celestial cows. In the first place, these cows are called the cows of Indra that accompany him and drink the liquor (of the offering), ibid. 10. I translate the second thus: "For him (Indra), at his birth, the cows that give sweet milk, the races of the god cook the Soma in the three brilliant spaces of the sky".2 We read also in the verse IX, 71, 4, that the cows which 'eat the offering' cook the Soma 'in their udder', and 'at the head', that is to say, in the most elevated portion, of the sky. 3 In the verse IX, 93, 3, the 'head' is the Soma himself of this supreme world, although the cows that cook him are 'in the vats'.4 It is without doubt the action of the terrestrial sacrifice on the celestial Soma that is spoken of here.

The Soma 'cooked by the cows' is at the same time considered

¹ Grassmann writes 'mixed with Soma'.

² My construction is the same as that of Ludwig. That of Grassmann seems certainly to be unnatural. The meaning which he extracts from the passage is moreover without any interest.

³ Grassmann interprets, without however explaining the meaning further, 'an dem Euter rechte Opfer nehmend', and replaces without any ado the idea of 'to cook' with that of 'to anoint' at the head. It is the word which Ludwig attacks. He changes the meaning of 'udder' into that of 'reservoir'. But he too does not tell us what he understands by the cows that cook the Soma 'on their head'.

⁴ Ludwig translates correctly but without determining the application of the word 'head'. Grassmann substitutes the idea of 'covering' (sic) to that of 'cooking'.

as the calf of the same cows. It is therefore said: "The cows cook this Soma who is their young one", 1 IX, 1, 9.

The 'purification' of the Soma by the 'cows' is certainly no more strange than the 'cooking' which they perform in respect of the sacred beverage. In the verse IX, 43, 1 however the Soma purified by the cows is compared to a horse. Now it is probable that the grooms of the Vedic period made use neither of milk nor of cows when currying their horses. The parallelism of the words sax: and nit: in the verse IX, 68, 9 is no reason to translate 'purified with the waters and with milk'. We have [35] mentioned above examples of such parallel construction of the figurative and unfigurative words, and there are many others. To the same two words the verse IX, 91,2 adds also said there again, the bringing together of the two figurative words is one more reason for translating 'purified by the cows' at the same time as 'purified by the sheep'. The sheep represent, as we know, the strainer of wool.

I do not lay equal stress on all the formulae where the figurative word 'cows' has been abandoned by the interpreters and replaced by the plain 'milk'. In some, it would be difficult to

¹ Ludwig searches for a too subtle explanation of the word [and which denotes, according to him, the Soma newly prepared. As for Grassmann, he replaces the idea of 'cooking' with that of 'mixing with hot milk' in this translation which is moreover quite as bizarre as the correct one: "The cows mix the hot milk with the calf".

^{· 2} P. 16 and note 3.

³ See regarding the word धुनु, I, 125, 4; VIII, 2, 6; IX, 66, 6, and regarding the word गो, I, 134, 2; III, 35, 8; IX, 64, 13. Add the following compounds, namely, ग्विष, which in the verse X, 76, 7 refers to Soma himself rather than to the prayers; गोपरीणस, VIII, 45, 24; गोपीथ, which in the verse I, 19, 1 can very well signify 'protection' as in the other verses in which it is employed; गोर्सस, I, 121, 8; गोविन्द, IX, 96, 19, and the derivative गोमल in the expression सुतस्य गोमल:, VIII, 3, 1; 13, 14,; 71, 6; 81, 13; 83, 6. Regarding the compound गविष्ट, IX, 66, 15, and the derivatives gavyu', IX, 97, 15 and go'mat in

discover any particular reason which could have led them to the decision to make such a substitution. In others, I, 95, 8; IX, 97, 45 and 24, 2, the observation made just now about the parallelism of the figurative and the unfigurative words or the one that was made at the commencement of this article on 'inverse' comparisons is sufficient to explain the use of the word 'cows'. The expression 'adorned with cows', IX, 61, 13, is but an attenuation of the expression 'anointed with cows'. Finally, there are cases where substitution of the word 'milk' is doubly defective. Thus, although it can be said of milk, as also of cows, that it is 'milked', it is quite evident that the application of this epithet to a word whose original meaning is in any case 'cow', does not allow of its being translated, in the verse IX, 107, 9, by the word 'milk', as has been done by Grassmann. The translation which the same scholar gives of the verse IX, 84, 3 disconcerts the reader who has the text before his eyes. Being unable to say that the Soma flows 'into' the plants 'with the milk', he says that he 'comes out of it', translating without any ado a locative like an ablative. In reality, the verse speaks of the celestial Soma entering into the plants with the 'cows' that are here the waters of the sky. 1 In the verse IX, 6, 6, the epithet 'male' given to the Soma juice has led Grassmann to the decision [36 to leave the name 'cows' to the milk with which Soma is mixed. 2 Ludwig, on the contrary, substitutes, very inappropriately, the plain word for the figurative one. Finally, it is difficult

the expressions वाजं गोर्मन्तं, IX, 33, 2; 63, 14, cf. Val. 1, 9, and गोर्मतारिष:
I, 98, 15; V, 79, 8; VIII, 5, 9; VIII. 23, 29; IX, 62, 24 (cf. धुनुमत्ये इवे I, 120, 9),
it is sufficient for me to oppose Ludwig to Grassmann, and rearding the
compound गोन्योचस्, IX, 97, 10 Grassmann (translation) to Ludwig. There
are some compounds that are difficult to explain. Regarding गोअपस 'that
has an ocean of cows', see above p. 21 and note 1. As for गोरहजीक, I have
translated it as 'having the cow for arrow', Religion Vedique, I, p. 206

¹ See Religion Vedique, I. p. 172.

² Only he commits the mistake of covering up the boldness of the metaphor by introducing a particle of comparison to which there is nothing corresponding in the text.

understand why Grsssmann and Ludwig have both preferred to give Soma for 'friend' the 'milk' rather than the 'cow', V, 37, 4.

I hasten now to take up a new series of formulae whose examination will be successful, I hope, in proving that the word go' never denotes 'milk' directly, and without figure. It is often said that Soma 'puts on, as if it were, something', IX, 14, 5; 107, 26, or without any attenuating particle, that he 'puts on a garment of cows', IX, 86, 26; 95, 1; that he 'attires himself', II, 36, 1; IX, 2, 4; 14, 3; 42, 1; 66, 13; 107, 18, and that 'he is attired', in cows IX, 8, 5, that his 'colour' is attired with cows, IX, 104, 4, that he is 'enveloped with cows', IX, 86, 27. Grassmann turns the dress of 'cows' into one of 'milk'. This too is a costume that is very unusual; but one can only do what one can, and Vedic thought, in spite of it, refuses to allow itself to be dressed wholly according to the mode of the day.

Ludwig proceeds most frequently like Grassmann. in the verses IX, 107, 26 and 86, 26, his translation shows us Soma taking, as in the text, the 'cows' for garment, or according to the expression that he substitutes for the latter in the verse IX, 86, 26, for 'covering'. It seems thus as if it is less through repugnance than through indifference for the Vedic figure that he substitutes 'milk' for 'cows' in the majority of passages. In reality, the toilets of Soma are as bizarre as they are varied, and form the strangest masquerade. 2 His 'white', IX, 107, 13, or 'bright', IX, 69, 4, garments can, without doubt, represent the milk, and the Vedic poets give his other liquid costumes also. melted butter, IX, 82, 2, and the waters, II, 36, 1; IX, 2, 3; 42, 1; 70, 2; 96, 13; 107, 4 and 18; 109, 21. But in addition he attires himself with the wool-strainer through which he is filtered, IX, 101, 15, or, according to the expression of the verse I, 98, 2, with the armour of the sheep, and with the vats into which he flows,

In the verse IX, 105, 4, it is conversely said: "I have stretched thy brilliant colour on the cows". Cf. also the use of the derivative risk belonging to the cow, in the similar expressions of VIII, 1, 17 and IX, 8, 6.

² The metaphor of 'garment' has like that of 'unction' other applications also. It is said of Indra rewarding the hymn that he 'attires' it with riches, VI, 35, 1, etc.

IX, 90, 2, with the fingers that express him, IX, 97, 12, and the laws, *ibid.*, that is to say, with the rites according to which he is prepared. He is also dressed with 'chants', IX, 35, 5, cf. IX, 71, 1, [37] and 99, 1; and this naturally is the occasion to repeat in connection with the figure of 'attiring' what we have already said in connection with 'anointing' and 'cooking': in this new series of formulae, as in the preceding ones, the cows can often represent the prayers that accompany the preparation of the sacred beverage as also the milk with which it is mixed.

The figure of 'cooking' is however combined with that of 'attiring' in the verse IX, 75, 5 which represents Soma as attired in the AMER that is to say, in that which 'cooks' him. I do not lay stress on other combinations like 'he attires himself in rivers' as 'king', IX, 89, 2, etc. It is known that such incoherences abound in the Vedic hymns and particularly in the hymns to Soma. They are also met with therefore naturally in many of the formulae in which blooms already this singular flower of rhetoric, the 'garment of cows'. Soma attired in cows is, in the verse IX, 86, 26, called a sage, and compared to a horse, when he flows through the wool (of the strainer). In the verse II, 36, 1, he is 'milked' with the 'stones' and the 'sheep', these sheep, which represent the strainer, appear again in the verse IX, 8, 5: "When he passes through the sheep, we attire him in cows".

But we have not finished our survey of Soma's wardrobe. He has a triple garment, IX, 108, 12, in the same way as he has three forms corresponding to the three worlds. Not only has he a garment that touches the sky, IX, 86, 14, but he takes for garment the sky itself, IX, 69, 5 or the four cardinal points, IX, 70, 1, and the cloud, IX, 83, 5, cf. 71, 1.

The reader sees now what should be thought of this translation of the verse IX, 86, 27: "The fingers purify him covered with milk, on the third summit, in the brilliant space of the sky." The repugnance of Grassmann and the indifference of Ludwig to the figure in whose favour I have undertaken this long pleading make their eyes blind here to the evidence. In fact, it is patently clear that the cows with which Soma is covered in the

^{9 [} Annals, B. O. R. I.]

sky, when he is there purified by the fingers of a divine sacrificer, represent the celestial waters.

But this is not all: this formula concerning the celestial Soma gives us the key to the similar formulae employed in connection with the beverage of the terrestrial sacrifice. The cows, milk or prayers, with which Soma is there attired, represent the waters of the cloud which he himself puts on in his superior forms. ¹ It is also said [38] that Soma clothes himself with the vats as Varuna with rivers, IX, 90, 2.

If the reader can still have any doubts about the meaning of the figure and also about the necessity of keeping it always intact in the translations, I hope that they will be removed by a last quotation. The bull with three horns that is spoken of in the verse V, 43, 13 is either identical with Soma, considered in the unity of his triple form, or in any case, is represented as could be Soma himself, called in the verse IX, 56, 32, the husband of the women, going to the rendezvous. Now this bull 'attires himself with women' as Soma attires himself with cows. The women and the cows play therefore in the figure of the 'garment' the role of those mythical equivalents that replace each other, as we have already seen more than once, in the manner of chemical equivalents. Now the word 'women' can on occasion denote the sacrificial milk, but it does so evidently because the latter represents the divine women, that is to say, the celestial waters. Does the reader now want to know how Grassmann and Ludwig have acquitted themselves in the matter of verse V, 43, 13? In the formula 'attired with cows', they substitute the idea 'milk' for that of 'cows'. Being unable to have recourse to the same substitution in the case of the new formula, it is the idea 'garment' which they attack, by translating 'surrounded by women' or 'dwelling with the women'. To point out such expedients is to pass judgment on them.

It now remains for us to examine the passages where the inter-

¹ Similarly, in the ceremony of the burning of the corpse, the butter, denoted by the word 'cows', which covers the dead man and is to protect him from the heat of the fire, X, 16, 7, represents without doubt the waters of the sky where he has to take on a new life.

preters have substituted for the word 'cows', not' milk', but the words 'cow-hide', 'straps' or 'bow-strings'.

We read in the verse X, 94, 9 that the pressing stones are placed on the cow, and in the verse X, 116, 4 that the beverage has been pressed in the cow. Inconsistent with themselves, Ludwig and Grassmann, the latter changing the idea not only from one passage to another but from his Woerterbuch to his translation, have translated in turns, the former 'cowhide' and 'milk', and the latter, 'cowhide', 'cow', and 'leather bottle'. I translate 'cow' and I intend 'cowhide'. The cowhide on which the Soma juice is expressed should, like the milk with which it is mixed, represent the celestial cow, that is to say, the cloud which envelopes him in the sky, or, in a sphere of ideas less directly naturalistic, the mysterious abode of the cow, पदं गो:, that is also called the abode of the bird (Agni or Soma), पदं चे:

[39] It is this same abode or the cloud that is alluded to in the verse I, 121, 9, according to which, Indra, in the opinion of Roth, Grassmann and Ludwig who are all in agreement here, 'hurled' the bolt with a 'sling'. The text signifies in reality that he has 'caused to come back', that is to say, that he has withdrawn, his bolt, 'from the cow'.

From the imaginary sling, we pass on now to the straps of the chariot. The author of the verse VIII, 48, 5, wishing to express the salutary and vivifying effect of the sacred beverage, says that the Somas that he has drunk have 'bound' him in his joints, as the 'cows' bind a 'chariot'. It seems evident that here, the word 'cows' denotes in fact the straps of the chariot. But is it necessary to translate 'straps', as Grassmann and Ludwig do, or should one translate 'cows' as I propose?

The hymn VI, 47 will furnish us with the answer to this question. We see there invoked in the verses 26-28 a chariot, which may be, if one so likes, a real one, but which represents in any case the celestial chariot or lightning, since in the verses 27 and 28 it receives the name 'Indra's bolt'. The qualification

¹ This word is not the most bizarre expression of the verse X, 116, 4 See above, p. 13.

² Cf. IX, 70, 7.

which is applied to it in verse 26 and which Grassmann and Ludwig translate as 'bound with straps' would already be one reason for us to keep the word 'cows', as the cows are capable of representing the waters in which the lightning is enveloped in the sky. But what is decisive is that in verse 27 the same chariot is in fact represented by a slight modification of the formula as 'enveloped' in the cows. This is exactly the qualification that we have seen applied above to the celestial Soma. At the same time, moreover, when our chariot receives in this verse the name 'Indra's bolt', it is also called 'the strength of the waters'. It seems as if the poet has foreseen the embarassment that he would cause to his interpreters and has therefore accumulated hints calculated to extricate them. They have not sufficed for the interpreters!: I hope they will be sufficient for the reader.

Thus the straps of the chariot are called cows because they allude to the cows, that is to say, to the waters that envelope the lightning, the war-chariot that on the earth overcomes the enemy representing the lightning that evercomes the demons in the sky. The bizarrerie however of the metaphor which seems to be at its height in the formula bound with cows; is found weakened in another metaphor denoting the chariot itself. This latter receives the name 'tree', in such a way that the complete expression suggests the idea of a tree to which cows are fastened.

The same idea is met with in a verse of the Atharva-veda, [40] I, 2, 3, where the 'cows' denote, not the straps of the chariot, but bowstrings. The poet however says in it of the 'cows' fastened to the 'tree' that they 'sing' the 'arrow' when shooting it. The reference here is to the incantations of the enemy whose effect Indra is begged to avert. The idea of magical formulae and the figures of the cow and the arrow that are so often applied to hyms are in this verse combined in the most bizarre manner.

In the verse X, 27, 22 of the Rgveda, we read: "The cow fastened to different trees has lowed; it is from it that fly away the

¹ Grassmann continues to translate 'enveloped in straps'. Ludwig does better: he translates as Grassmann proposed to do in his Woerterbuch: 'enveloped in milk' (sic). He does not however seem to apply this expression to the chariot, His translation is not very intelligible.

birds that devour men". Here the cow is perhaps the cloud from which proceed the lightnings¹. The ideas of the bow, the string, and the arrows are however suggested less by the text itself than by the comparison with the passage previously cited² and with another where the arrows are similarly represented as birds. I refer to the verse VI, 46, 14 already cited above³, in which we have seen the horses compared to rivers⁴. The same horses are there compared also to birds, held 'with the arms' on the 'bow', and hurling themselves 'on the flesh'. These birds are evidently the arrows that proceed from the bow-string that is called a cow because it represents the cow-cloud, whence proceeds the arrow-bird-lightning.

But the most curious passage, that which definitely condemns the substitution of the unfigurative for the figurative word while at the same time it confirms the idea of an allusion in the figurative word to a celestial phenomenon considered as the type of the object denoted by the figure, is the verse VI, 75, 11 which Grassmann and Ludwig⁵ translate almost alike as, "It (the arrow) puts on the garment of an eagle; its tooth is a savage beast; placed on the string, it flies when it is hurled". The first trait only is weakened: the exact translation should be, "It attires itself with the bird". The reference here, it is quite agreed, is to the feathers that trim the arrows. The formula recalls that of attired with cows' that has been studied above and confirms the interpretation which we have given to it. The word n' 'cow', it is certain, signifies 'milk' no more than the word and 'bird' [41]

¹ See Religion Vedigue, I, p. 278 and note.

² 到页代项(刊. The use of the root sphur with the perfix anu in the verse VI, 67 11 can lead to the belief that the 'cows' which are spoken of here are also the prayers assimilated at the same time with bow-strings.

³ Pp. 3-4.

⁴ Grassmann and Ludwig connect the participle THIM: with horses and take the 'cow' for a 'bridle'. But the comparison with the verse X, 27, 22 which I have cited in the text appears to me to be decidedly in favour of my interpretation.

⁵ Ludwig translates, 'Mit Riemen zusammengebunden'. I do not know what image he has in mind,

does 'feather'. But let us pass on. I understand the second trait in the sense that the point of the arrow is made of the horn of some antelope, $rac{H}{I}$.

The rest is not of much importance; what is certain is that the two parts of the arrow, the feathers and the point, are denoted, one by the name 'bird', and the other by the name of some animal. Now I ask, when to these two formulae there succeeds a third containing likewise the name of an animal, the cow, is it really translating the text when one simply substitutes the idea of string 2 for that of the cow? The third combination of the words 'bound to the cows' is no more strange than the first 'it attires itself with the bird', or the second, 'its tooth is an animal'.

The use of the words 'bird', 'animal (antelope)', 'cow' does not however constitute simple metonymy; there are metaphors also, metaphors whose meaning is explained by verse 15 of the same hymn, where the arrow is invoked by the epithet all 'divine,' and useful 'produced by the semen of Parjanya'. The allusion to the lightning is evident, and it is this allusion that explains the metaphors of verse 11. The lightning in fact is a bird. It could also in the eyes of the rsis take on the form of an antelope, as the mounts of the Maruts. Finally and chiefly it is 'bound to the cows', that is to say, is enveloped by the waters of the sky. This is exactly the same expression which we have seen applied to the war-charlot which likewise represents the lightning. Beside the warrior himself, the warrior attired in armour, it is in the first verse of the same hymn VI, 75, compared to a cloud.

As for the epithet गोओप्श VI, 53, 9 which Grassmann translates 'provided with straps' and Ludwig as 'having a cow's tail',

¹ Cf. verse 15 of the same hymn. Grassmann translates 'Lowe'!

² Or of the strap. See p. 40, note 5.

³ Here therefore the expression 'attires himself' would be equivalent to 'takes the form of', at least in so far as in the myth of the descent of Soma the bird caunct be distinguished from the arrow in its character of the 'carrier' of Soma-lightning.

it does not contain merely an allusion to the celestial cows. For, the 'goad' which receives this qualification is in the hands of a god, of Pusan. The word ओप्रा has probably, as believed by Reth and Grassmann himself, the meaning 'hair' or 'tuft of hair'. Whatever it may be, when Indra is seen carrying the sky like an ओप्रा, I, 173, 6, cf. VIII, 14, 5, and Soma taking the cloud for ओप्रा IX, 71, it is not difficult to understand what is represented by the 'cows' that serve likewise as ओप्रा to the goad of Pusan.

I have said at the beginning that these observations on the figures of speech in the Rgveda ought not, in my opinion [42] to be without interest for the lexicography. It has in fact been seen that in many cases they allow us to explain the text of the hymns without doing to the meaning; all the kinds of violence which thay have been subjected to at the hands of the interpreters who have been too much preoccupied with the exigencies of our modern taste. But this work has, if I am not mistaken, another object also. I have been reproached for having 'taken for ready money the bold metaphors of the ancient rsis ' and for assigning to these metaphors a mythological value. than one reply to this criticism. And the best would be to finish the work at which the criticism was directed, that is to say, the complete reconstitution of a system where the formulae that are the subjects of the controversy are grouped up too well to allow of their being reduced in value to mere poetical figures, born of individual fancies. But at present I shall content myself with the argument which has been furnished to me by the observations that have gone above, and particularly the last ones on the uses of the word in 'cow'. It has been seen in fact that what explains the most bizarre of these uses is precisely the allusion which they contain to certain religious conceptions and above all to the correspondence of the rites of the cult to celestial phenomena or even to the correspondence of the engines of war on the earth and in the sky. To unite Soma with the liturgical cows is to reproduce here below the union which he himself contracts with the

¹ Pischel, Göttingische Anzeigen, 1879, p. 168.

celestial cows. To hurl against the enemy the arrow or the warchariot bound to cows', is to imitate Indra hurling against the demon the lightning which is enveloped in the celestial cows. And, this is very important, the rite which reproduces the phenomenon, the formula which assimilates the terrestrial weapon to the celesial one are like talismans which assure success to every one who employs them. Now, in the domain of the supernatural, the expressions that are most strange are found to be, because of the strangeness itself, the most appropriate for the ideas which they express or suggest. This is in my view the true explanation of the taste of the rsis for incongruous figures. The enigmas and the paradoxes that are the results of the incoherence of the metaphors are, for the rest, but one form of the Vedic enigma and paradox which have many forms and which occasionally assume that of the popular riddle containing, totally concealed, a mystical meaning. There is here the subject for a new work which I intend to publish shortly and which will be closely related to this.

A NOTE ON KSA AND JNA

By

Prof. H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

It appears that even in remote times keen desire was felt by mankind to give an outward manifestation to emotions and in ward conceptions. For this purpose different methods seem to have been adopted by different persons at different times. One of them was to resort to writing. I do not intend to discuss here the evolution of the primitive scripts or the origin of alphabet regarding which several theories have been propounded by previous scholars. I shall therefore confine myself to say a few words about some of the features pertaining to kṣa and jāa written in Devanāgarī characters.

Broadly speaking we have two types of $Devan\overline{a}gari$ characters: (1) Jaina and (2) non-Jaina. In both these cases we find that out of the various conjunct consonants $k\bar{s}$ and $j\bar{n}$ have each of them a special form 3 wherein one cannot easily notice any trace 4 of

² See Appendix I (pp. 1-3) of "Descriptive Catalogue of Jaina Manuscripts" vol. XVII, pt. II.

3	Cf.	Jaina Devanāgari	क्	इ
		Non-Jaina Devanāgarī	क्ष	ল

⁴ When the form resulting from the combination of two conjunct consonants leaves no trace of its constituents, it at times presents a very great difficulty in deciphering it Some of the forms of conjunct consonants occurring in Kharosthī lipi bear testimomy to this. Vide p. 35 of "The Palæography of India" alias "Bhāratīya Prācina Lipimālā"; a work in Hindī by Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha.

Out of these may be mentioned Mr. C. J. Gadd's theory, the opposite view expressed by Sir Flinders Petrie and Dr. Prāṇanātha's article viz. "How the alphabet began 'published in the "Illustrated Weekly of the Times of India" vol. LVI, No. 36 and the following dated 8-9-35 etc.

Mr. Gadd has said in his "Sumerian Reading Book" that the evolution of primitive scripts points out two stages: (i) pictorial and (ii) the one which subsequently devloped from it into hieroglyphic signs.

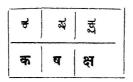
Sir Flunders says that signs rather than pictures are the primitive systems; for, simplicity leads to complexity.

^{10 [} Annals, B. O. R. I.]

the consonants of which they are composed. 1 \neq and $^{\circ}$ put together in various 2 ways does not give rise to a form identified as ks. 3 In the case of the Jaina Devanāgarī characters, both the parts are fairly noticeable in \bigcirc . The upper portion of this \bigcirc shows that there is the form of ka occurring in the Jaina forms for kr and ku^4 , and that the lower portion of \bigcirc shows $^{\circ}$ without its slant stroke. 5

As regards $j\bar{n}a$, the presence of $j(\bar{\pi})$ can be seen in $\bar{\pi}$ and $\bar{\Xi}$, both the types ⁶ of *Devanāgarī* characters ⁷; but there remains a

Canarese Non-Jaina Devanāgarī



- ³ In the form for $k \circ a$ in the Brāhmī script both the constituents k and $\circ a$ seem to be present, and the ligature appears to have been formed by placing the latter below the former. See plate LXXXII given in "Palæography of India". In the script used in plate XVIII, the constituents for $k \circ a$ and $j \pi a$ are both distinct.
 - 4 See Appendix II (p. 4) of D. C. J. M. vol. XVII, pp. II.
 - 5 The latter remark is applicable to 37, too.
- ϵ It appears that the former type is derived from the latter, the similar remark holding good for $k \epsilon a$, too.

I Since there is thus very little chance left of suspecting that $k\bar{s}a$ and $j\bar{n}a$ are ligatures, they are mentioned under the head " $m\bar{u}l\bar{a}k\bar{s}aras$ " in a "Desī Hisāb". Furthermore we learn from "The Palæography of India" (p. 47) that $k\bar{s}a$ and $j\bar{n}a$ are each assigned a place in $N\bar{a}gar\bar{\imath}$ $varnam\bar{\imath}l\bar{a}$, as the original forms of their constitutents are not maintained in the ligatures. Even tra is included in this $varnam\bar{a}l\bar{a}$, though the sign for $\bar{\imath}$, one of its constituents is visible in tra.

² Taking the Devanāgarī characters into account, I placed to the left of I and I placed below I are the ways expected in a normal course. Both these processes have been utilized in some of the southern characters. For instance, in Malayālam, Tāmil and Grantha characters we find the first method is adopted, whereas in Canarese and Telugu characters, the second method is adopted. Owing to want of suitable types I can illustrate as under the case pertaining to the Canarese characters only:—

⁷ This remark is applicable to the Brāhmī character, too.

difficulty of tracing \mathbf{x} , though it may be guessed that the portion remaining after j is taken off from $j\tilde{n}a$, resembles some part of it.

This will show that in the *Devanāgarī* form for $j\tilde{n}a$, $\tilde{n}a$ is assigned a place below j. Thus this method agrees with the way of writing $j\tilde{n}a$ in Canarese ¹ and Telugu characters, whereas it differs from the way in which $j\tilde{n}a$ is written in Malayālam, Tāmil and Grantha characters; for, in these three characters $j\tilde{n}a$ is written by the side of j and to its left.

In this connection I may draw the attention of the learned reader to the plate ² facing this page and especially to the third line from the bottom of a portion of the leaf 145² which may be represented in non-Jaina characters without प्रमानाड ³ as under:-"क्जानस्पं। मतिज्ञानादिकेवलज्ञानं। तं तस्य लाभ-"

There are some persons who believe in $M\bar{a}trka$ theory. They opine that every letter and every symbol have something to do with a god or a goddess 4, and that they quote a typical line viz. "akṣaram paramam brahma". Will any one of them point out as to what god or goddess is associated with kṣa and yūa as well?

Leaving aside for a moment the tradition that every letter is a $mantr\bar{a}ksara^5$, I would like to know if ksa or $j\bar{n}a$ has been

1	Cf.	Canarese	ಜ	ঞ	ಜ್ಞ
		Non-Jaina Devanāgarī	ज	 ਤ	ছা

- A portion of this plate given below to the left and containing the date Samvat 1179, is in continuation with the bigger portion containing the circular diagram. This when placed to the right of this bigger portion with a marginal space between them forms leaf 145b of this Ms. of which this is a facsimile. A portion marked as leaf 145a forms a part of the same leaf of which it is the reverse. For further description of this Ms. see "D. C. J. M." Vol. XVIII.
- ³ This is commonly known as $padim\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ and it is connected by some with $pratim\bar{a}tr\bar{a}$ (Skr.).
- ⁴ Dr. Prāṇanātha has observed in his article referred to on p. 289 that the Tantrabidhāna, Bījanighaṇṭu, Mudranighaṇṭu and Ekārthakośa throw light on this question.
 - s Cf— "अमन्त्रमक्षरं नास्ति नास्ति मूळमनाँभधम् । अधना पृथिवी नास्ति संयोगाः खद्ध दर्छभाः ॥"

This is quoted by Subhatilaka. See my edition of Anekārtharatnamanjūṣā (p. 82)

given in any work on mantras, as much importance as pranava¹, a māntrika symbol. If there is no such evidence coming forth, will one be justified in saying that the Jaina and non-Jaina ways of writing ksa and $j\bar{n}a$ have nothing to do with the mysticism associated with $mantr\bar{a}ksaras$?

I do not remember to have read anywhere the exact period 2 whence ksa and $j\tilde{n}a$ have been each given a special form as we now find in both the types of $Devan\bar{a}gar\bar{i}$ characters. Under these circumstances, I am tempted to deal with this question here.

That in $Devan\bar{a}gari$ characters k and s together make up ks is a well-known fact; but it remains to be ascertained whence this rule came into existence. So far as I know, it is not mentioned in $Ast\bar{a}dhy\bar{a}y\bar{\imath}$, $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}sya$, $V\bar{a}rtika$ and $Siddh\bar{a}ntakaumud\bar{\imath}$. All the same this rule is found in $Candraprabh\bar{\imath}$ (p. 48) as under:—

" कषयोर्योगे क्षः।"

An earlier reference to this is met with in $R\bar{u}pam\bar{a}l\bar{a}$ (p. 49), a commentary on $K\bar{a}tantra$ as below:—

"कषयोगे क्षः ॥ २५६ ॥ "

As regards the form for jña, Siddhāntakaumudī (p. 82) on Aṣṭādhyāyī (VIII-2-8) states that "जञोर्जः। राज्ञः। राज्ञा।". In a foot-note (the third) on it we have:—

" जञोर्ज्ञ इति-नेदमपूर्वादेशविधायकं सूत्रभाष्यवार्तिकष्वपिटतत्वात्, किंतु अभि-युक्तवचनम् । "

From this it follows that out of Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kātyāyana none has stated that in *Devanāgarī* or any other script

¹ This is written in two ways: (i) \exists and (ii) \exists . The first of them belongs to the Jaina script and the other to the non-Jaina one. The former way of writing om is what one can naturally expect; for, it is derived by writing \exists (i. e. o in the Jaina script) with an anusvāra (nasal) on it. The latter way seems to be rather peculiar, for, in \exists , a layman cannot trace \exists . A palæographist like Pandit Ojha hss suggested that \exists is a modification of older o occurring in plates Nos. XVIII, XIX, XXI and XXXV. Moreover, he says (on p. 136) that it follows from the 25th plate.

From Dr. R. Shamsastri's learned article published in "Indian Antiquary" Vol. XXXV, pp. 253-267, 270-290 and 311-324 we learn that from the latter half of the 11th century A. D. the older form of au became current for o.

² Incidentally I would like to know exactly from what period and for what reason, special forms for and, et cetera, dollar and pound (20 shillings) are being represented as &, &c, \$ and £.

the forms for j and $\tilde{n}a$ when combined give rise to a special form $j\tilde{n}a$.

In the Candraprabhā above referred to, we have on p. 57:--" সমার্কঃ''

At first thought it struck me that the special forms for ksa and $j\bar{n}a$ might have originated in a land where people had to write ksa and $j\bar{n}a$ many a time and who, whereupon wanted to save time and trouble. But I am not prepared to take a serious note of it, unless and until I can substantiate it by some other valid evidences and convincing arguments. It is, however, true that we come across passages and verses where ksa occur several times. For instance, in $Jamb\bar{u}\ kavi$'s Jinasataka one can trace many instances of this kind. As a typical example, may be quoted the following verse from this Jaina hymn:—

" क्षोणि क्षान्या क्षिपन्तः क्षणिकरतिकरस्त्रीकटाक्षक्षताक्षा मोक्षक्षेत्राभिकाङ्क्षाः क्षपितद्यभशताक्षेपविक्षेपदक्षाः। अक्षोभाः क्षीणरुक्षाक्षरपदुवचना भिक्षवो मङ्क्ष्वलक्ष्मीं

साक्षाद् वीक्ष्य क्षिपन्ति क्षपयतु स जिनः क्षय्यपक्षं यदङ्घी ॥ ९ ॥ "

The first hemistich of the following verse occurring in the tippana of Sayaga and in the tippanaka of Pavayanasāruddhāra, each composed by Udayaprabha Sūri may be also noted:—

" सपादलक्षक्षोणीशसमक्षं जितवादिनाम् । श्रीधर्मघोषस्रीणां पट्टालङ्कारकारकाः ॥ १ ॥ "

As a fairly parallel example from a non-Jaina source, I may mention the first hemistich of the following verse given on p. 72 of Vidyānanda's *Pratāparudrayaśobhūṣana*:--

" क्षेणीरक्षणदक्षिणाः क्षतज्गत्क्षोभा दुरीक्ष्यक्रमाः क्षद्रक्षात्रियपक्षाशिक्षणविधौ प्रोक्षितकोक्षेयकाः । उद्दामोद्यमनस्य रुद्रचुपतेदेदिण्डयोक्ष्यण्डयोः -र्गजदुर्जनगर्वपर्वतभिदा दम्भोलयः केलयः ॥ "

— (प्रतापरुद्रीय-काव्यप्रकरण)

The 3rd carana of the verse beginning with नम्रत्वेनोन्समन्तः and occurring in *Nītīšataka* also furnishes us with an example of anuprāsa of kṣa to some extent.

2 This is published in Kāvyamālā as No. 7 by the Nirnayasāgara Press in A. D. 1907.

¹ $J\bar{n}a$ and $k\bar{s}a$ occur a number of times in plate X given in "The Palæography of India".

The second carana of the following verse from Gangālaharī can be also referred to in this connection:—

" उद्श्वन्मात्सर्यरेषुटकपटहेरम्बजननी – कटाक्षन्याक्षेपक्षणजनितसंक्षोभनिवहाः भवन्तु त्वंगन्तो हरशिरसि गङ्गातनुभुव--स्तरङ्गाः प्रोतुङ्गा दुरितभवभङ्गाय भवतास् ॥ ३ ॥"

Bāṇa's Harşacarita, too, has several passages where three or four ksas can be noticed 1 .

As in the case of $k \not a$, it is desirable that I should cite passages and verses which may furnish us with examples of $anupr \bar a sa$ of $j \bar n a$. But I am sorry to note that I do not remember to have come across any which can be assigned a place equal to verses quoted for $k \not a$. Will any scholar therefore kindly supply me with the pertinent instances? In the meanwhile, I may en passant refer to the following verse occurring in Nitisataka:—

" अज्ञः सुखमाराध्यते सुस्तरमाराध्यते विशेषज्ञः । ज्ञान्लवदुर्विदेग्धं ब्रह्माऽपि नरं न रखयति ॥"

I may note as an additional example, the last carana of the following verse from the Naişadhīya carita (canto III, v. 64):--

" ईशानिमैश्वर्यविवर्तमध्ये लोकेशलोके शयलोकमध्ये । तिर्यश्वमप्यश्च मुषानाभिज्ञ--

रसज्ञतोपज्ञसमज्ञमज्ञम् ॥ ६४ ॥ "

The ligatures $k \not = a$ and $j \vec{n} a$ are not to be met with in every lipi. For instance, in the 46 letters which make up the $Br \vec{a} h m \vec{i} \ lipi$ according to the 46th $samav \vec{a} y a$ of $Samav \vec{a} y a$, the 4th anga of the Jaina canonical treatises, there is no mention of $j \vec{n} a$. Even the occurrence of $k \not = a$ is not a matter of certainty. For, Abhayadeva $S \vec{u} r \vec{i}$, while commenting upon $Samav \vec{a} y a$ (XLVI) says that $k \not = a$ may have been included in the 46 letters of the $Br \vec{a} h m \vec{i}$ script.

See pp. 16, 61, 130 and 170 of the Bombay Sanskrit Series No. LXVI.
Some of the details about this lipi are dealt with by me in a separate article "Some Palæographical data from the Jaina sources" to be published in the Annals of B. O. R. Institute hereafter.

³ "The Palœography of India" (p. 47) throws light in this connection; for, there it is said that after a special form took place for the combination of k and s, the Bauddhas included ks in the list of the varnas-matrkas-siddha-matrkas. In the tantrika works, ksa and jaa are each styled as a varna i. e. a matrka.

Prof. Johann Georg Bühler denies its existence as can be seen from the following observation made by him in his "Indian Palæography" (p. 2):—

"While the matrkas R, \overline{R} , L, \overline{L} and the ligature k s a, which in later times was often erroneously considered a $m \overline{a} t r k a$ were excluded."

Pandit G. H. Ojha, in "The Palæography of India" (p. 46) introduces ksa in an optional manner for \overline{x} .

Now a word about the presence or absence of $k \ a$ and $j \ a$ in languages. The Sanskrit language and the Vernaculars wherein tatsama words are used, contain words having $k \ s^2$ and $j \ a$. But such is not case with the Prākrit languages. These ligatures are absent there. Even the a, a constituent of $j \ a$ has no room for it there, as can be seen from the following verse which is quoted by Malayagiri Sūri in his commentary (p. 3) to $B \ r hat kalps \ utra :--$

" ए-ओकारपराई अंकारपरं च पायए नात्थि।

व-सगारमिजझमाणि य क-चवग्ग-तवग्गनिहणाई ॥ "

As ks and $j\tilde{n}$ are absent in Prakrit, I may say a few words regarding their substitutes.

The conjunct consonant ks is reduced to kkh and cch. The grammarians of the eastern school assert that kkh is a feature of Sauraseni, and cch, that of Māhārāsṭrī. Such a distinction is not as yet noticed to exist in the western school. In Aśvaghosa and Bhāsa we have a number of cases where ks is replaced by kkh. Ks occurring in some of the Sanskrit words is even now reduced to kkh in Gujarātī and Marāthī as well.

The treatment in the case of $j\bar{n}$ differs at different hands.³ On the one hand Hemacandra Sūri, the well-known polygrapher reduces $j\bar{n}$, ny and ny to $j\bar{n}$, as is the case in

¹ This is mentioned after Sanskrit in Thana (II) of the third anga.

² Even in Vaidika Sanskrit we have words containing ks. Vide Rg-Veda (II. I. 10; etc.).

³ This topic is treated by my friend Prof. A. M. Ghatage, M. A., in his splendid article "Sauraseni Prakrit" (Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, Pt. IV, pp. 55 and 56).

the Māhārāṣṭrī. It seems that most of the modern scholars follow in his foot-steps (Schmidt 6-7). Vararuci mentions an option of substituting $\tilde{n}j$ instead of $j\tilde{n}$ in the case of words like $vij\tilde{n}a$ (12, 7), but only nn in the case of $injitaj\tilde{n}a$ and $sarvaj\tilde{n}a$ (12, 8). Kramadīśvara substitutes $\tilde{n}j$ for $j\tilde{n}$ occurring in $adhij\tilde{n}a$, $pratij\tilde{n}a$, $yaj\tilde{n}a$ and $vij\tilde{n}a$ (5, 76). Dr. Pischel opines that both these rules are rather doubtful; for, no other grammarian has mentioned them, and that this is probably due to an error on the part of scribes who copied Mss.

Mārkaņdeya gives both jj and nn for $j\tilde{n}$ (9, 46). Aśvaghoṣa replaces $j\tilde{n}$ by $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$, whereas Bhāsa substitutes both $\tilde{n}\tilde{n}$ and nn almost with equal frequency.

I may conclude this note by referring to the pronunciation of $j\bar{n}a$. I have heard it being pronounced in various ways such as dnya, dna, gna, gnya, gya etc, even when it is admitted by the speakers that j and $\bar{n}a$ combined together make up $j\bar{n}a$. Thus is appears that its pronunciation has something to do with provincialism.

In "The Palæography of India" (p. 47) it is said that the Deccanies pronounce $j\tilde{n}a$ as dna^2 some persons in the north of India as gya and a few Sanskritists, something like gnya.

¹ This is likely to remind one about the differences in the pronunciation of the liquid letters viz. r and 1. In this connection it has been remarked in "The Palæography of India" (p. 44) that many a person pronounce ₹ and ₹ and ₹ so ₹ and ₹ But none of these ways is correct.

 $^{^2}$ Vide the English title of রানিসকাহা. Is this due to the mode of writing jna in Modi as d plus na?

MISCELLANEA

BHANUDATTA AND BHANUKARA

BY

DR. S. K. DE. M. A., D. Litt.

In his very interesting article on the poet Bhānukara Dr. Haradatta Sarma has referred to the question of the date of Bhānudatta, with whom he proposes to identify Bhānukara. He has critised the date 1428 A. D. given by me (Sanskrit Poetics I. p. 248) as the terminus ad quem of Bhanudatta's date; but he appears to have overlooked my note (at p. 252 of the same work) where I had indicated that this date was not beyond doubt. His attention may be drawn in this connexion to my subsequent article on Bhānudatta's date (which also he seems to have overlooked) placed before the Fourth All-Indian Oriental Conference and published in its Summaries of Papers (Allahabad 1926, pp. 40-43). In this article I have definitely rejected the date 1428 A. D. for 1572 A. D., which Dr. Sarma, agreeing with Mr. Gode, now proposes; and I have, on independent grounds, attempted a closer approximation of Bhanudatta's date to the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. This dating will dispose of Dr. Sarma's surprise that Bhānudatta is not at all quoted in the Sarngadharapaddhati, which was compiled much earlier at about 1363 A. D.

The fact of Bhānudatta's having more Southern commentators than Northern does not finally settle the question as to whether Bhānudatta belonged to Videha or Vidarbha. It is possible, as Dr. Sarma suggests, that he wandered from place to place; but this does not prove the question either way.

There are two minor points in Dr. Sarma's statements which require modification. It is hardly correct to state that Jayadeva, the author of the Gita-govinda, was a Maithila poet; he belonged to Bengal. In his footnote 1, p. 254, Dr. Sarma appears to think that I have identified Suresvara, the ancestor of Bhānudatta, with the Suresvara, who was a contemporary of the great Samkara. But I have not done so. Probably Dr. Sarma was misled by the description that Bhānudatta's ancestor Suresvara was the author of

Śārirakabhāṣya-vārttika; but this description is given in Bhānudatta's Kumāra-bhārgavīya itself. On the other hand referring to this question, I have already remarked in my article referred to above (p. 43): "In the genealogy of the Kumāra-bhārgavīya mention is made of one Sureśvara, son of Ratneśvara, who was an ancestor of Bhānudatta, separated by six generations from himself, and who wrote a Śārīrakabhāṣya-vārttika. We need not identify, with Eggeling, this Sureśvara with the famous Sureśvara who was a disciple of Śamkarācārya; for otherwise the date of our Bhānudatta would have to be unwarrantably pushed back to a time which would be inconsistent with other date furnished by his text."

The main argument on which Dr. Sarma relies for the identity of the poet Bhanukara and Bhanudatta is that a large number of Bhānudatta's verses are assigned to Bhānukara in some very late anthologies. It is true that Bhanudatta himself was not a very early writer, and we cannot expect to find his verses quoted in early anthologies; but one should take very cautiously the evidence supplied by anthological compilations. By far the largest number of Bhanudatta's verses in question are found assigned to Bhanukara in compilation, entitled Padya-rucanā by Laksmana Bhatta Ankolakara; but for this work its editors themselves (ed. Kāvyamālā 86) would not venture to claim a higher antiquity than even a hundred years. Of the other anthologies mentioned, the Rasika-jivana belongs to the 17th century, and the Subhāsita-hārāvali, as Mr. P. K. Gode has shown, to the end of the 17th century. The attributions in anthologies are notoriously careless and confused, and one would require a more substantial and independent evidence of identity than such attributions occurring in comparatively modern compilations of doubtful value. I may, however, add that since both Bhānudatta and Bhānukara refer to one Nijāma-dharaņīpāla or Nijāmā Shāha, whom I have proposed to identify with Ahmad Nizām Shah who obtained possession of Daulatābād some time between 1499 and 1507 A. D. and founded the Nizam Shah dynasty of Dekkan, it is quite possible that they might have been contemporaries; but this alone does not identify the two writers.

REVIEWS

DHARMA AND SOCIETY by Dr. G. H. Mees, M. A., LL. D., published by N. V. Servire - the Hague and Luzac & Co., London, W. C. I., pp. XV + 206; Price, cloth 12/6 s. and paper 9/6 s.

This is a very instructive and thought-provoking work. subject is treated with great sympathy for the aspirations of India throughout the ages and understanding of the problems that confronted the Indians of all times. The aim of the work, as stated in the preface (XII), is 'to inquire into the nature of Dharmathe fundamental motive force in the life of man as a social being-in connection with a comparative study of the theory and ideal of varna (natural class) and the phenomena of caste in India and incidentally of class in the west'. The purpose of the work is not to test the Hindu theories philosophically or morally; but to show that the fundamental nature of dharma (and of related conceptions) is a mystic one (p. XIII). It is impossible to convey, in a brief review such as the present, even a vague idea of the contents of this work. The work is divided into two parts. The first part deals with dharma as conceived by the ancient Hindus, the various meanings that were attributed to dharma, the various distinctions of dharma according to subject (viz. svadharma, varnadharma, jātidharma, deśadharama, gapadharma &c.), the four ends of life (purusartha) and their relation to varpas and āśramas, characteristics of dharma (dhamma) as conceived by the Buddhists, conceptions akin to dharma among other ancient peoples, distinction between varna and caste, the five conceptions about varna (racial, cultural, professional, symbolical and occult); the meaning and conception of Arya characteristics, origin and function of jatis (castes), the Out of the two parts, the second is the more important. author tries to establish that varna theory in its wider sense was a theory not applying to Hindu society exclusively, but to human society generally, in other words 'varpa' contains a universal element and is a theory of natural class, and that there

was a tendency to uphold it as an international ideal (p. 79) in consequence of which even foreigners were in ancient times adopted into the social system of India. The author points out how in the ancient Iranian and other cultures there were four classes corresponding to the four varnas of ancient India. The learned author distinguishes between two aspects of dharma, the one corresponding more or less to varna and the other to caste. he endeavours to demonstrate at great length that in alternate periods (called by him 'periods of life' and 'periods of form') the corresponding aspect of dharma predominated, that in different periods of form various 'social evils' were evolved and that as a reaction to the tendency towards social crystallization and caste separatism we find again and again in Indian history the promulgation of dharma in its first aspect by great teachers who heralded 'periods of life' (p. 87). As examples of the latter he refers to the Upanisads (which marked a 'period of life 'against the formalism of the ritual end dogmas of the Brahmana Literature), the preaching of dharma by Buddha whose influence was directly social by propagating the spiritual equality of man, by opening up the spiritual path to all, irrespective of caste or sex (p. 95). The author however points out (p. 96) that there was a biologically unsocial element in Buddha's teaching withdrawing the noblest elements of humanity from the married state to monkhood and that the army of idle monks and nuns was one of the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India. Then Samkarācārya inaugurated a new period of life by establishing the one Godhead and truth as against the doctrines of the many sects that existed and by making the Vedanta philosophy the basis of all the nobler movements of Hinduism. Then came the Vaisnava Reformation of which Rāmānuja may be called a fore-runner (p. 98). The author refers to the work of the Arya-Samāj, of Vivekananda, of poet Tagore and Mahātmā Gandhi as heralding the birth of a new 'period of life'. In contrast to the foregoing periods of life, the author instances as periods of form the complicated Vedic ritual (in the Brahmanas), the systematized and dogmatised dharma contained in the dharmasastras such as those of Manu (chapter III about food proper for śrāddha. chap. IV about rules for householders). As social evils of the

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periods of form he instances the practice of Sati (p. 104), the prohibition of the remarriage of widows (p. 105), the gradual lowering of the status of women from Vedic times downwards (pp. 111-112), child marriage (pp. 110), untouchability (pp. 111-112.)

The author summarises his estimate of the Brāhmaṇas in these words (p. 113) 'Hinduism owes to true Brahmans the blessings of the theory and ideal of Varṇa, and to the Brahmans as caste-upholders many of the diseases of caste.' He does not subscribe to the view of some that the complicated caste system was an invention of the Brāhmaṇas, but he appears to think that if the Brāhmaṇas had lived up to the Varṇa standard, had worked for the realization of Varṇa in the social mind and had maintained a healthy self-criticism, caste would never have come into existence (p. 116).

The auther tries to show that not only in India but everywhere in the world cyclic processes of sleep and renascence have gone on from remote times (pp. 121-126) and that man's task has been from the beginning to learn to use his hands as his soul inspiring practical brotherhood, directs i. e. that part of the population which corresponds to the three lower varnas must be guided by the highest varna.

In contrasting the theory of varna with caste the author remarks 'In the theory of varna we find the social duty of the individual always on the foreground and never his personal rights and in accordance with this it contains the principle that the higher the varna, the more exacting the duties and the stricter education. This principle was lost sight of to some extent in caste when the tendency appeared to lay more stress on privilege than on duty '(p. 127).

The author says 'there were originally only two varnas, a fair and a dark one. But soon the conception of three higher varnas must have developed from the classes into which the fair coloured people became divided. But when classes began to develop into castes and sub-castes varna became theory and ideal. Yet for a long time it remained possible for people of

lower classes to pass into higher classes (pp. 136-137). The author relies for this last proposition on the stories of Janaka, Satyakāma Jābāla, Kavaṣa Ailūṣa and others.

The author wisely remarks in the West the social mind is obsessed by the idea of economical power, in India by the idea of caste power. A reviving sense of varna may free the social mind of its obsession, then the natural hierarchy must again emerge out of the social unconscious into the light of recognition and in proportion to this the tyranny of power will be weakened' (p. 145).

The author's thesis is that in the natural hierarchy there cannot be one moral standard for all, that the normal standard of one high up in the natural hierarchy will be the ideal for a person lower in the scale and will be entirely unintelligible to a person at the bottom, that it is illogical to require and expect the same conduct from these three people and to put before them the same ideal (p. 146). He thinks that the Christian church has tended to do this, with the positing of the 'Christian duty'. that the Church pointed to the goal, but did not show the steps and that it failed to show sense of reality and a sense of proportion (p. 147). He is of opinion that when the sastras speak of the eight forms of marriage they have in mind this principle of natural hierarchy. The author finds fault with westerners for turning up their noses against Indians for their caste system when 'Europe has developed separative nation-castes which for the moment tend to grow away more and more from the organic basis' (p. 150). Internationalism is nothing but the sense of social unity plus the urge of the expression of unity (speaking mystically) or the sense of sociality plus the urge towards integration (speaking sociologically).

The author scutely points out that though the theory of varna implicates the social inequality of man (which is the vertical view of society), it does not contain any principle of spiritual inequality, which is the horizontal view of society (p. 153). This he supports by reference to the fact that the main schools of Hindu philosophy hold that Brahman is the origin of all things, of all beings and that Brahman is the goal and that into which all will eventually dissolve.

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The author deals with the topic of varna-samkara (which has two aspects viz., mixture of castes and also mixture of Varna). For the latter he refers to Bhagavadgītā 18-45 and 47.

The author winds up by saying that 'no serious student of caste will propagate the abolishment of the caste system' (p. 192), but he also seems to hold (relying on a statement of Dr. Ghurye in his work 'Caste and Race in India' that some efforts made during the last few years in that direction failed) that to propose to abolish easte by slow consolidation of the small groups is to miss the real problem. His own view seems to be that the theory and ideal of 'caturvarnya' will have to come forward again in the consciousness of the people not as the model on which to remould the caste system by legislation but as the fundamental theory of the composition of society, public opinion will do the rest and the problems of caste will solve themselves and new classes will emerge from the crumbling remains of the old castes. This is rather very vague and one wonders how long it will take before this prophecy materializes even partially and what efforts ordinary individuals and institutions are to make before the ferment of ideas throws up a personality like Buddha or Samkarācārya.

From the fact that the author quotes well-known authors, Vedic texts and works like Apastamba and the Mahābhārata from text-books on caste (e. g. pp. 107n, 118n, 1 and 2. 139n 2, where all the quotations are acknowledged to have been taken from N. K. Dutt's 'Origin and growth of caste in India) it is reasonable to infer that the author has not made any first hand study of the original Sanskrit texts. In spite of this the author displays great insight into the working of ancient Indian society. One can well express substantial agreement with most of the main conclusions which the learned author has drawn. The author relies too much on works of other writers on caste and does not explore for himself the vast material on Varna in the original texts. quotes profusely from the Manusmrti, the Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata and other purānas, but Vedic material is conspicuous by its paucity. There are however several minor matters where one differs from the learned author. On pp. 33 and 88 he still clings to the theory of the late Dr. Bühler that the present code of Manu is a recast of the ancient Mānavadharmasātra. On p. 190 he puts the extant Mahābhārata several centuries earlier than Aśoka. On p. 92 he appears to state a sweeping generalisation that the Upaniṣads were composed by non-Brāhmaṇas. Although the printing and general get-up are excellent, there are several misprints not noticed even in the errata (vide pp. 27 l. 3, 151 l. 19, p. 106n. 5 Vasiṣṭha XV, 73-78 should be XVII. 73-78), several lapses in transliteration (p. 28 śamā for śama, p. 114n Brahmā for Brahma) and the inaccurate ascription (on p. 54n. 1) of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa to the Black Yajurveda.

P. V. Kane



THE PADYAVALI. An anthology of Vaisnava Verses in Sanskrit, compiled by Rūpa Gosvāmin, A Disciple of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Bengal. Critically edited by Sushil Kumar De of the University of Dacca. Dacca University Oriental Publications Series, No. 3. Published by the University of Dacca, 1934. pp. i-cxliv, l-296.

This bulky volume of about 450 pages is a welcome addition to the Anthological literature in Sanskrit. The text of the book is based on sixteen mss. and two printed editions. The task of collation is indeed laborious and Dr. De is to be congratulated on his brilliant performance. The lengthy introduction is an important contribution to the History of Vaispavism and the Bhakti movement in Bengal (a problem which Dr. De defers for another work which is forthcoming). The editor gives here a very lucid exposition of Bhakti as a Rasa, its comparison and contrast with the Rasa of the orthodox school of Sanskrit Poetics (p. lxxxix). He has also made a clear distinction between the old type of Bhakti as found in the Bhagavadgitā and other works, and the erotic mysticism in the language of earthly passion, a special characteristic of the Caitanya school. There is no doubt that this sort of mental attitude has in some cases led to a sort of degeneration from the high plane of religious mysticism to the low depths of earthly passion. And it may be argued that there is always a danger of this type of poetry leading to sensualism. But in order to appreciate it we must adopt the right type of mental attitude. In any case "however gross or crude their cry of natural passion may sometime appear to modern taste, it is impossible to underrate its reality and frankness, the sweet, tender and familiar force of its palpitating humanity." (p. cv). In other words it is the cry of the individual soul desirous of communion with the Universal Soul.

It is interesting to note that the Subhāṣita-Hārāvalī of Śrī Hari Kavi (Peterson: Second Report of the Search of Sanskrit Mss; pp. 57-64 and No. 92; Poona, xviii A, 92 of 1883-4) which was composed in the middle of the 17th century A. D. (See my Article: The Subhāṣita-Hārāvalī of Śrī Hari Kavi and some

Poets enjoying the Patronage of Muslim Rulers. Indian Historical Quarterly, X. 1934, pp. 478-485) has drawn upon this Padyāvalī. For, herein the verses of Rūpa Gosvāmin himself are not ascribed to his name but to $sam\bar{u}hartuh$ as in the Padyā. S. Hār. borrows as many as 36 verses from the Padyā. The importance of the S. Hār. lies in the fact that many of the readings found in it are not met with in any of the mss. used in the text of the Padyā. Again, some new verses from the authors quoted in the Padyā are found here. It quotes 3 verses of Gopīnātha Paṇḍita who as far as I can judge from the contents of the verses, must be identical with Gopīnātha Ācārya of Navadvīpa at whose house Īśvarapurī composed his Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Iilāmṛta (p. xiii). The verses are as follows.

मुरारेर्मारारेश्विभुवनिदानस्य च मिथो न भेदोऽस्तीत्येवं सकलिनिगमीषस्य भणितिः । तथाप्याभीराणां लिलितललनामण्डलगते मनःश्यामाकारे वसति परमझ[ह्य]णि मम ॥ fol. B 21a, 76. आराज्जनं जनानि कंचिद्षि प्रयातुं मा देहि ते भवति दर्शनतः पिशाचः । विन्यस्य मूर्धिंन भवति खलु जह्नुकन्ये प्रेतप्रदेशमभियास्यति वीतवासाः ॥ fol. B 26, 45. केषांचिच्छितिकण्ठे वैकुण्ठे प्रीतिरन्येषाम् । मम तु द्वाविष तुल्यौ हस्तद्व[य] मोदकन्यायात् ॥ fol. B 27, 57.

Following is the list of verses common to Padyā. and S. Hār. with different readings according to the latter.

No. of verse in the Printed Text. 29,

- 8. Dāksiņātyasya.
- 9.
- 10. Visnupurīpādānām.
- 39. Śrīmadbhagavad-Vyāsapādānām.

No.and the readings acc. to S. Har.

B 18a. a) tvaṃhasām; b) muktistri (śri) yaḥ; lines c and d reversed. c) -ścaryāmasāvīkṣate.

B 18. Daksiņāyanasya.

B 19a.

- do. Anonymous.
- do. do. d)-harṣāśrupulakodgamāḥ.

No. of verse in the Printed Text.	No.and the readings acc. to S. Hār.
40.	B 19 ^a
43.	do. d) -dapavargam.
119. kasyacit.	do. Samāhartuḥ.
123 .	B 19.
55 .	do.
54.	do. a) -karmapanka-
56. Sarvajñasya.	B 20a. Sarvakasya.
53.	do.
58.	do.
75.	B 20a. 70. a) -daripratyagra~; b)
	-nandamayam; d) kridati.
77.	В 20, 71,
78.	,, 72. d) -latābandhe.
81. Madhavasya.	" 75. Anon. c) vivekanipuņāh.
79.	B 21a. 78. b) devāh.
97. Raghupatyupādhyāyasya.	B 21, 83. Raghūpādhyāyasya.
32.	B22a, 92.
27.	" 94. a) svargārthādyā-
18.	, 95. b) nirbharamami; d)
	grāmasyāmala-
60.	B 22, 96. a) sambhrtabhrami-;
	c) diptenādya-
61.	,, 97. c) asarapajana
64.	B 22, 98. c) bhaktavatsala iti.
66.	00
68.	B 23, 8. d) he kāruņyanidhe.
67.	0 a) kaćahhirahatah h)
	indriyakānanāntare.
31. Śri Bhagavataḥ.	10 Anon a) hahutatma-
VI. OII Dhagavatan.	višesašakti-
34.	B 24a, 11.
3 3 .	19
	12 Anon
36. Šrī Vaisņavasya.	14 d) karnadhära
37. "	Bhagavan.
99 Gut Gamelakhadanan	15 Anon
38. Šrī Gopālabhaṭṭāṇām.	1 17
125. Sarva-Vidyāvinodānām.	,, 17. ,,

Following are the new verses of Kaviratna, Vāṇīvilāsa and Hariharabhaṭṭa.

Kaviratna:

Vanīvilāsa:-

न केलिः कौमारी न च हृदि मनोभूनिविशते स्थिरा वा लोला वा न च न पुनरीतिर्विजयते । न तादृक् नान्यादृक् परिणमाति वक्षस्तदुभयं शिश्चरतं तारुण्यं समग्रतामिह द्वारि मनसः ॥ fol. Λ 18, 1.

Hariharabhatta:-

स्फूर्जज्ज्योन्स्नावलक्षाश्चमरसहचरीबालभारैः सदृक्षा-श्चन्द्रश्रेणीसकक्षाः स्फटिकमाणिशिलाभङ्गसपक्ष्यपक्षाः। श्रीखण्डोन्कर्षदक्षाः सितसरसिरुहां दत्तसौभाग्यभिक्षाः शृङ्गारोपात्तशिक्षा मुरारिपुमिलने पान्तु लक्ष्मीकटाक्षाः॥

fol. B 10, 80

By the middle of the 17th century, that is, about one hundred years after its composition, the Padyā. seems to have acquired wide fame and its Ms. or Mss. must have travelled far south. For Hari Kavi seems to have been a southerner as is evident from the following verse.

इहान्ये ते विप्राः प्रतिसद्नमागत्य कृपणाः कणान्याचन्ते ये परिगणितनक्षत्रातिथयः । वयं कार्णाटीनां कुचकळशपत्राङ्कुरळता-

विलासन्यासङ्गोल्लासितमनसः केऽपि कवयः ॥ fol. 31a, 93.

The verse "uddhūyeta tanūlateti", etc, ascribed to Ānanda in the Padyā. (358) is ascribed to Jayadeva in the Padyaracanā 40.6 (Kāvyamālā No. 89). The verse "citrotkīraṇādapi", etc., anonymous in the Padyā. is signed as (kasyāpi) [Hariharasya] in the Padyaracanā, 67. 54.

Dr. De. has collected a great deal of historical material on the contemporaries of Caitanya and the other six Gosvāmins. In the elaborate Notes appended to the volume he has thrown new light on many of the poets quoted in the Padyā. The differnt Indices enhance the value of the edition and make the task of the workers in the same field much lighter.

Har Dutt Sharma

Eine indo-arische Metaphysik des Kampfes und der Tat. Die Bhagavadgītā in neuer Sicht von J. W. Hauer. Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1934. Price RM 3. pp. I-VII, 1-76.

The new view point presented by Prof. Hauer in this book is that Gītā teaches Action or performance of one's duties, howsoever adverse the circumstances may be. And this peculiar attitude of fight has been the special characteristic of the life of those people who have Aryan blood flowing in their veins. Hauer's main purpose of writing this volume is to present this new interpretation to German people who are today engaged in shaping the destiny of their nation. He rightly remarks in the introduction that scholars (we should say specially in Europe) had till now been more concerned about the exterior of the book. its passages, the different interpretations, etc. On the contrary in India the metaphysical problem of the Gītā has been the main view point from which it is mostly studied. From many, one may quote the instance of Gītārahasya (The Secret of Gītā) of the late B. G. Tilak. And what is more astonishing is that Tilak's work anticipates much of what is found in this book under review.

The book is divided into six chapters and Prof. Hauer has grasped the essence of the Gita with remarkable insight. gently leads the reader from topic to topic till he shows him the final goal of human effort. Every thinking human being is faced with a conflict of duties at times in his life. Even against his will he has to perform several actions. And actions bind him by their result. This life is but a fight. It is a tragedy. It was realised by Arjuna as well as Krsna. But the latter would not allow him to give up the fight, howsoever tragic the result might Krsna teaches him that we cannot give up actions. should not, nay we cannot acquire "akarmanyatā" (Nichttætigkeit). The best way is to act with a detached mind which will lead us to freedom from actions "Naiskarmya" (Freihet von Werkverhaftung). This freedom from actions is attained by a person if he leaves the fruits of actions and considers himself as only a tool in the cosmic order (prakrti) of God. We should develop the idea of sacrifice which is complete self-surrender in action. In this way we can become free from the responsibility or consequence of our action. We become a part of the cosmic order (the prakrti, which word, Prof. Hauer rightly remarks, should be translated as Urnatur and not Materie) of God. Our aim should be to realise this and establish union with Godhead.

Prof. Hauer has avoided all philological and critical discussions about the text and has presented his theme in simple language and very clearly. The notes which he has added are also not copious. Specially interesting is his comparison of the view of the Gitā with Kant (p. 45). He quotes Kant at length in his note II on pp. 72-4. This point has been discussed briefly in the Gitārahasya, pp. 216-7 (Hindi Trans. Poona, 1917). Prof. Hauer discusses in note 15, pp. 74-5 the translation of the first line of Gītā XVIII 47 and III, 35, viz,

Śreyān svadharmo vigunah paradharmāt svanusthitāt. He points out that svanusthitāt should be translated as "gut zu erfüllen", "leicht erfüllt", i. e., good to perform or easily performed. He rejects "gut erfüllt" "recht ausgeübt", i. e., well done or correctly performed. Similarly, according to him viguna means opposed bringing or creating some opposition, etc., and not incomplete, bad or unvirtuous. No doubt the meaning rejected by Prof. Hauer is that by Śankarācārya, but the meaning adopted by Prof. Hauer is what has already been given by the late B. G. Tilak in his Gītārahasya...

There can be no two opinions about the goodness of the book and the brilliance and deep insight of writer. We can safely say that this is one of the most sympathetic studies ever written by a European Scholar.

Har Dutt Sharma

THE JASMINE GARLAND (KUNDAMĀLĀ) Translated into English by A. C. Woolner, C. I. E., M. A. (Oxon.), Hon. D. Litt. (Panjab), F. A. S. B., Officier D' Académie Francaise; Principal, Oriental College, Lahore; Vice-chancellor of the University of the Panjab, Punjab University Oriental Publications, No. 27. Oxford University Press, London. 1935. pp. V-XIV: 1-50. Price 6 shillings.

This translation of Kundamālā is a valuable addition to Indology, coming as it does from the pen of an eminent Indologist of Dr. Woolner's repute. There are some printing mistakes, the fewness of which is but a compliment to the renowned Oxford University Press and to the still more renowned scholar Dr. Woolner.

But the most serious mistake committed is on p. 12, foot-note 1, where we read:—"Kausalyā was the wife of Dhṛṭarāṣṭra and the mother of Rāma."

The name Dinnaga has led to much controversy among the scholars. [See: The Date of the Kundamālā by A. C. Woolner (Annals of the B. O. R. I., Vol. XV, 1933-34, 236-239). On Kundamālā by S. K. De (Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XVI, 1934-1935, p. 158). Kundamālā and the Uttararāmacarita by K. A. Subramania Iyer (Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp. 91-97)]. One of the reasons for giving the name Dinnaga to the author of Kundamala is that the first editors of this work (in the Daksinabharati-granthamālā, no 2, intro. p. iii) state that in a manuscript copy of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, the second verse of the First Act of Kundamālā is ascribed to Dinnāga. Dr. Woolner very pertinently remarks in the Introduction of his translation 'but we are not told the date of this Ms., which differs from the printed edition (p. vi, fn. 1). Now, the following statement of Veda Vyasa and Bhanot in the Introduction to their edition is very misleading:-'the second verse of our drama is quoted under Dinnaga in Vallabhdeva's Subhāsitāvalī, etc. '(p. IV). This statement has led Mr. Subramania Iyer to the error of supposing that the second editors refer to the printed edition of Subhāṣitāvalī (see Proceedings of the Baroda Oriental Conference).

An uncritical statement of Messers Veda Vyasa and Bhanot is quoted by Dr. Woolner also in his introduction (p. v, fn. 2):—
"A Dhīranāga, styled Bhavanta (obviously a misprint fer Bhadanta) is mentioned in the Sūktimuktāvalī (Veda Vyāsa and Bhanot)!" (The italics are mine). Dr. Woolner should have examined the veracity or otherwise of this statement by referring to the very detailed description of the Ms. of Jahlaṇa's Sūktimuktāvalī given by the late Sir R. G. Bhandakar in his Reports on the Search of Sanskrit. Mss., 1887-91 (now published in the Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, pp. 349-412). Sir Bhandarkar has not only given a historical account of the work but has preserved for us the pratīkas of the verses together with the names of the authors. Here we find no mention of Dinnāga or Bhadanta Dhīranāga.

Now this much discussed verse Jvalevordhvavisarpini, etc., (Kundamālā, I. 2), is found quoted in the Saduktikarnāmrta (=Skm.) I. 12. 1, of Śrīdharadāsa (Saduktikarnāmrta of Śrīdharadāsa, edited by the late P. Rāmāvatāra Sarmā Pāndeya, with a critical Introduction by Dr. Har Dutt Sharma. Published by Motilal Banarsi Dass. Saidmittha Bazar, Lahore, 1930) This verse is attributed to Ravinaga there. Now, if we take into consideration the evidence of Natyadarpana (Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. XLVIII). viz., Vīranāga-nibaddhāyām Ku $ndam\bar{u}l\bar{u}y\bar{u}m$, etc., (p. 48), then we can say that most probably Viranaga is the name of the author and that Vira has become Ravi in the Skm. through the vagaries of some scribe or scribes. Had Dr. Woolner consulted Skm. then he would have been able to find out a better reading and also an improved translation of the verse referred to above. In Kunda. mālā the last two lines of this verse read:

> samdhyevārdramṛṇālakomalatanorindoh sadāsthayinī Pāyād vastarunārunāmśukapilā Śambhorjatāsamtatih.

In place of the *underlined* portions Skm. reads sahasthāyinī and jaṭāsamhatih Dr. Woolner translates these lines as 'like twilight eternal or the crescent moon delicate as fresh lotus stem'. Dr. Woolner must have felt the difficulty of construing sadāsthāyinī

which he joins with $samdhy\bar{a}$. But it is difficult to understand as to how and with what does he construe the genitive case in $\bar{a}rdramrn\bar{a}lakomalatanorindoh$. On the other hand, if we adopt the reading of Skm. the construction would be simple.

ārdramṛnālakomalatanoh indoh sahasthāyinā (accompanying the moon, etc.,) samdhyā iva. Similarly, jaṭāsamhatih of Skm. is certainly a better reading than jaṭāsamtatih.

The translation is mostly very free, although at one or two places it becomes too literal to be correct as (on p. 31, fn. 1) when the word siniddha=snigdha is translated as 'sticky'.

The following points in translation deserve special mention.

- P. 3, line 20. It would be better to say 'assisting me by summoning' instead of 'assiting me in summoning', as the text is: $\bar{a}ry\bar{a}sam\bar{a}hv\bar{a}nena$ sah $\bar{a}yamiva$ me samp $\bar{a}dayati$.
- P. 4, line 6. It is difficult to agree with the translator when he translates the word amandram as 'softly'. It should be translated as 'loudly' mandra meas gabhīra, deep.
- P. 5, line 18. Dr. Woolner translates the word paricchada as 'blessing'. But the word means 'attendants', which, no doubt, may be included, but along with many other things, under 'blessings'.
- P. 6, last line. After Sitā, the stage direction lajjām nāṭayati of the text ought to have been translated and not altogether left out.
- P. 7, lines 16-17. Dr. Woolner following Jayacandra translates nahi taha annāsattā paiņo itthiājanassa dukkam uppādedi jaha annāsatto 'for a wife devoted to another does not pain her husband as a faithless husband pains a wife.' But, really speaking, a wife devoted to another person causing less pain to her husband is entirely against Indian genius. The passage can be construed in a better way and give appropriate meaning: nahi taha paiņo sattā annā itthiā jaṇassa dukkam uppādedi jaha annāsatto. Taking the word paiņo (genitive) in the sense of locative, the meaning of the passage will be:—'a woman devoted to husband (i. e., a sapatnī) does not cause so much pain to a wife as the husband devoted to another woman.'
- P. 7, line 29 and P. 10, line 32. Dr. woolner translates the term varnāśrama as 'caste and hermitage' which is wrong. The word

āsrama here stands for 'a stage of life' as Dr. Woolner himself translates it further on P. 37, line 18.

- P. 9, line 10. The translation of Sitā's words kudo me tādiso bā-hadheo, viz., 'How did I get such luck' is not correct. Veda Vyasa and Bhanot are right when they translate 'Whence can there be such a good fortune for me?'. The idea latent in the mind of Sitā is that how can I get such a good luck as still to be called the wife of Rāma. Being exiled Sītā deplores her bad luck of having lost the position of grhinītva.
- P. 9, line 16. Lakṣmaṇa begins his speech which continues till the 36th line. Then why does Dr. Woolner repeat the name of Lakṣmaṇa in the 25th line in margin, as if before it some one else was speaking? Such repetitions are to be met with again on P_{\bullet} 11 (of Sitā) and P_{\bullet} 16 (of Lakṣmaṇa).
- P. 22, lines 14-15. It is wrong to translate arya-Hasitena saravamākarnitam by 'he must have heard, etc.'. It should be 'he heard'.

In the edition of Veda Vyasa and Bhanot (P. 129, fn. 2) we read that the editors have left out the following passages found in the original edition on the ground of their being meaningless:

Vi—He Rāma, piavayassa, Rāmatti khans aliamahurehim vaanehlm āulayasi.

Rā-Kim Tilottamā?

Dr. Woolner has also left out these passages but he ought to have given a note on this.

- P. 30, line 23. The word savana is translated by Dr. Woolner as 'evening rites', which is hardly correct. The word savana means 'sacrificial rites' quite alright, but it has no connection with 'evening'. Moreover, as the context itself shows, it is the description of morning:—savanamavasitam hutam kṛṣānā-vudayagataḥ samupāsuo vivasvān. The rites here are those of the morning and not of the evening.
- P. 30, line 32. Pale rounded cheeks' is the translation of pāndurapīnagandam in the text. Here not only Jayacandra but even Dr. Woolner, has been led into an error. Their justification of pīnatva in separation is far from convincing. The text is : lambāla-

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kam pāndurapīna-gandam prasādaramyam vadanam vahantī. The meaning will become quite clear if we construe pānduh (=pale Sītā) lamhālakam apīnagandam (with emaciated cheeks) prasādaramyam vadanam vahantī, etc.

P. 32, line 17. Dr. Woolner translates *tuṣārabindu* as 'snow flakes' and gives "or 'dew drops'" in the foot note.

P. 37, lines 11-12. Dr. Woolner says, 'tell me, do you both dwell together in the same place' while translating kim bhavadbhyam avyavahita bhumiradhyasyate. In this Dr. Woolner has followed the explanations of Jayacandra and his co-editors again. But the sense is "What! are you sitting on the bare ground?" Rāma had asked Kuśa and Lava to get down hastily from the throne. They sat down on the ground as is evident from the stage direction ubhāvavatīrya bhūmāvupavišatah, and not on any seat. At that moment Rama was very anxious to know if they were unhurt. After satisfying his mind on this point he suddenly observes that the boys (of brahmana sages, as Rama thought uptill now) were seated on the bare ground. To this Kusa and Lava reply:—Mahārāja, prathamaparinī (na) to 'yamarthah. "That, your Majesty, was settled (ordained?) from the first". This, of course refers to the previous speech of Vidūsaka (p. 148 of the text in Veda Vyasa edition) where the boys use the word bhūsthānam.

P. 46, foot note 4. It is not necessary to change the reading girayo for sarito, for it refers to the shaking or moving of mountains, which makes enough sense.

Dr. Woolner does not mention the text he follows in his translation. On the whole his efforts are laudable but unless a critical edition of the drama gives us a reliable text it is difficult to judge the merits of the poet as well as those of the translator.

Har Dutt Sharma

[This review was received in this office on Dec. 25, 1935, when Dr. Woolner was alive. We regret that Dr. Woolner is no more to reply to the points raised in the review. — Editor.]

हिंदुस्थानांतील आमस्या ठिकठिकाणस्या सफरी—सफर पहिली सन १९०९by Raja Raghunathrao Shankarrao Pandit, Pant Sachiv; Published by the Private Secretary to the Raja Saheb of Bhor, Bhor, pp. 124.

Travel undertaken for travel's sake has a charm of its own, especially when such travel is properly planned out by men of means and enjoyed with an appetising relish and care-free mind. The volume under review is a record of such travel carried out by Shrimant Rajesaheb of Bhor between 20th February and 18th April 1909 and is well illustrated containing not less than 20 beautiful pictures of important and historical places and architectural buildings visited during the travel. The book is mainly descriptive and as such would prove useful to educated persons feeling any zest for long-distance travel. For those, however, who cannot afford to undertake such a travel the book can provide much entertaining reading matter if they bring some imagination to bear on their reading of the book and put themselves in the position of the author-traveller.

It is difficult to find in modern travel books that free criticism of men and things characteristic of the travel books written by old travellers like Morco Polo or Manuci because it results from a natural self-abandon and complete identity of the observer and the observed, we mean the panorama of life through which he is dragged by the insatiable zest for travel. In the case of persons of rank the difficulty is greater still as admitted by Raje Saheb in his introductory remarks.

Every attempt has been made to make the present volume as neat and attractive as possible in point of printing and get-up. As an earnest of the future volumes in the series promised by Raje Saheb the present volume is an admirable token of the cultured taste of the author. We would, however, like to make one suggestion with regard to the illustrations to be included in the future volumes in the proposed series. Reproductions from standardised pictures if included in a book of travel divest it of

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novelty and charm which generally attend a picture produced for the first time. Such reproductions, howsoever beautiful in themselves take away from a publication that touch of individuality which is rightly considered to be the very soul of an artistic publication. Even the beauty of the present volume would have been much heightened by a few out-of-the-way snaps of the varied life met with by the author during the course of his travel. We await with eagerness the publication of the future volumes in the Series as early as possible.

P. K. Gode.



TRAVANCORE A Guide hook for the visitors, By Emily Gilchriest Hatch

The present guide is just what a book of this kind should beshort, pleasant, racy and intelligently instructive. Travancore is
indeed a marvellous and progressive state in Western India and
the present guide book holds a mirror into its glorious past and
picturesque present. This guide produces in the mind of the
reader a very keen desire to visit Travancore. The Oxford
University Press deserves our congratulations for such an
excellent production—well-planned, well-written and wellillustrated.

D. V. Potdar



Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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[PART IV

COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA*

(Epic and Pauranic Sources)

By

Dr. BIMALA CHURN LAW, M. A., B. L., Ph. D.

DAKSINAPATHA OR SOUTHERN REGION

Athāpare janapadā Dakṣiṇāpathavāsinaḥ l Puṇḍrāśca Keralāścaiva Go-lāngulāstathaiva ca ll Śailūṣā Mūṣikāścaiva kusumā nāma vāsakāḥ l Mahārāṣṭrā Māhiṣakā Kalingāścaiva sarvvaśaḥ ll Ābhīrāḥ Sahavaiśikyā Āḍhakyā Śabarāśca ye l Pulindā Vindhyamauleyā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ Saha ll Paurikā Maulikāścaiva Aśmakā Bhogabardhanāḥ l Naiṣikāḥ Kuntalā Andhrā Udbhidā Vanadārakāḥ ll (Mārk. P. 57. 45-48).

"Now the other peoples who dwell in the Southern Region are the Pundras, the Keralas, the Golāngulas, also the Sailūṣas, and Mūṣikas, the Kusumas, the Nāmavāsakas, the Mahārāṣṭras, the Māhiṣakas, and Kalingas on all sides, Ābhīras and Vaiśikyas, the Aḍhakyas, and the Śabaras, the Pulindas, the Vindhyamauleyas, the people of Vidarbha, and the Daṇḍakas, the Paurikas, and the Maulikas, the Amakas, the Bhogavardhanas, the Naisi

^{*} Continued from Vol. XVII part iii pp. 217-242.

kas, the Kuntalas, the Andhras, the Udbhidas, the Vanadārakas, these are the peoples of the countries of the Southern region. "

Pundras—It is curious that the Pundras are mentioned as a people of the South, for, they are in fact an eastern people and have been already referred to as such. Both the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas (XLV. 124 and CXIII. 46 respectively) read Pāṇḍyas which is undoubtedly the correct reading. The Pāṇḍyas were a well-known Southern people with their capital at (Dakṣiṇa) Mathurā or modern Madurā. The country of the Pāṇḍyas comprised the modern districts of Madurā and Tinnevelly. The Pāṇḍyas are often mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and sometimes in the Rāmāyaṇa as well, e. g., in the Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa (XLI. 15 and 25) Vide my "Ancient India Tribes," vol. II., Chap. IV.

Kevalas—Evidently this is a mistake for Keralas which is the reading of the Vāyu (XLV. 124) and Matsya (CXIII. 46) Purāṇas as well as of the Bhīṣma Parva of the Mahābhārata (IX. 352 and 365). According to the Mahābhārata the Keralas seem to have been a forest tribe (Sabhā P. XXX 1174-75). In historical times they are often associated with the Colas and Pāṇḍyas, e. g., as early as in the records of Aśoka. This is upheld by the Harivamśa as well (XXXII. 1836).

Go-lāngulas— No people of this name are known. The Matṣya Purāṇa reads Colas and Kulyas (CXIII. 43), and the Vāyu Caulyas and Kulyas instead (XLV. 124). The Colas (Caulyas) were a well-known people and were famous from very early times, being mentioned as early as in the inscriptions of Aśoka, as one of the four tribes of the far south. The Kulyas are not met with anywhere; but undoubtedly they are the same people as the Kolas mentioned more than once in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXX. 1171; Aśvamedha P. LXXXIII. 2476-7). But the people cannot satisfactorily be identified.

Śailūṣas— The Vāyu (XLV. 125) and the Matsya (CXIII. 47) Purāṇās read Setukas instead; but none of the names can be identified. But Pargiter's suggestion that they might mean the people who lived near the Setu of Rāma is ingenious and may not altogether be improbable, specially in view of

¹ Mark. P. 332, note.

the fact that they are mentioned in connection with people of the far south.

Mūṣikas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Sūtikas instead (CXIII. 47). The Bhīṣma Parva list reads just as in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, but elsewhere it mentions another Southern people called Mūṣakas. It is difficult to identify them.

Kusumas—The variants are Kumanas (Vāyu, XLV. 125), and Kupathas (Matsya, CXIII. 47). Pargiter suggests an identification with the Kurubas or Kurumbas who were the same as the Pallavas, an important tribe of the Deccan.

Nāma-Vāsakas—The Vāyu Purāņa reads (XLV. 125) Vanavāsikas, and the Bhiṣma Parva list Vanavāsakas (1X. 366) which is undoubtedly the correct reading. Doubtless they refer to the people of the kingdom of Vanavāsī, a well-known region of the South in historical times, and not unknown to the author of the Harivamsa (XCV. 5213 and 5231-3). The Matsya Purāṇa reads Vāji-Vāsikas (CXIII. 47) which is apparently incorrect.

Maharāṣṭras—The well-known people of Mahārāṣṭra country, identical with the Rathikas and Mahāraṭhis of early inscriptions. In the 7th century A. D. the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the Mahārāṣṭra country. The Matsya Purāṇa reads Nava-rāṣṭras (CXIII. 47), a people located by the Mahā-bhārata near the land of the Kurus (Sabhā P. XXX. 1110; Virāṭa P. I, 11-12).

Māhiṣakas—or the Māhiṣikas (Matsya P. CXIII. 47). Doubt-less they are identical with the Māhiṣmakas of the Mahābhārata (Aśvamedha P. LXXXIII. 2475-7), the people of Māhiṣmatī or Māndhātā, identical with modern Maheśvara or the Narmadā. Māhiṣmatī was an ancient and famous city (Mbh. Sabhā P. XXX. 1125-63), and was the border city whence began the western country (Māhiṣmatyā parataḥ paścāddeśa). In the Sutta-Nīpāta commentary Māhiṣmati is mentioned as an important city (Vol. II, p. 583).

Kalingas—The Kalingas in ancient historical tradition in the Purānas as well as in the epics are always associated with the

¹ Ibid. P. 332, note.

Angas and Vangas. According to the Harivamsa the Kalingas along with the Angas, Vangas, Suhmas and Pundras are said to have been descended from five eponymous brothers (Mbh. Ādi. P. CIV. 4217-21; Hariv. XXXI. 1684-93). The Mahābhārata tells us that the river Vaitaranī flowed through the country (Adi. P. CCXV. 7820-24) and the Mahendra mountains were within its southern limits (Raghu V. IV. 38). Kalinga thus seems to have been conterminous with modern Orissa within the district of Ganjam.

Abhīras—The Ābhīras of the Deccan must be a branch of the northern tribe of the same name. (For the migration of the tribe to different regions in the north and south see my Ancient-Indian Tribes Vol. II, pp. 51-54). The Matsya Purāṇa reads Kāruṣas instead, the same as Karuṣas (For Kārūṣas or Karūṣas see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, pp. 31-33).

Vaišikyas—The variants are Eṣikas (Vāyu P. XLV. 126) and Aiṣīkas (Matsya P. CXIII. 48); but it is difficult to identify them.

Adhakyas—The Vāyu and Matsya Purānas (XLV. 126 and CXIII. 48 respectively) read Ātavyas which is no doubt the correct reading. Ātavī as a city of the Deccan is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXX. 1176). The Ātavyas were certainly the same as the Ātavikas of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, who were perhaps aboriginal tribes dwelling in the jungle tracts of Central India.

Sabaras—Admittedly they were an aboriginal tribe mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Adi K. I, 59; Araṇya K. LXXVII. 6-32) as well as in the Mahābhārata (Śānti P. LXV. 2429; CLXVIII. 6294-6303; CLXXIII. 6445) as living in the forest regions of Central India and the Deccan. The Śabaras can still be found in the interiors of Orissa, as well as in those of Central India and the Deccan under the names of Sabar, Saur, etc. (For references to the tribe see Indian Culture, Vol. I, no. 2, p. 305). They are almost always associated with such rude non-Aryan tribes as the Pulindas, Mutibas, Abhīras, Pukkusas etc.

Pulindas—The Pulindas are referred to in the Purānas as dwelling in the northern and western regions as well. Apparently

they were a rude non-Aryan tribe scattered in different parts of India. The Pulindas of the Dakṣiṇāpatha were probably an off-shoot of the northern Pulindas. (For a deatiled account of the tribe see Indian Culture, Vol. I, no. 3, pp. 383-4). For an origin of the Pulindas, Vide Mahāvamśa (P. T. S.) p. 69.

Vindhya-mauleyas—The Matsya Purāṇa erroneously reads Vindhya-puṣikas (CXIII. 48), but the Vāyu reads Vindhya-mūlīkas (XLV. 126). No particular people of the name are known, but the name may mean the "people who live at the foot of the Vindhyas.".

Vidarbhas - The Vidarbhas were a famous people and known from very early times; their country was one of the most renowned kingdoms in the Deccan. In the time of the Aitareva Brāhmana (VII. 34), Bhīma was the king of Vidarbha. country is also mentioned in the Jāiminīya Brāhmana (II, 440; Ved. Ind. II, 297) as also in a number of Jātakas. It seems to have been one of the earliest Aryan kingdoms in the Deccan. According to the Pauranic account of the Yadavas. Vidarbha. the eponymous leader of the Vidarbhas was a Yādava (Matsya. XLIV. 36; Vāyu, 95. 35-36). According to the Mabhābhārata (III. 73. 1-2) as well as the Harivamsa (Visnu Parva, 60) Kundina, represented by the modern town of Kaundinyapura in Amaraoti, on the banks of the Vardha, was the capital of the Vidarbha country. Its most famous king, according to epic tradition (Mbh. Vana P. CXVII. 6590-1) was Bhīsmaka.

Dandakas—They are undoubtedly the people dwelling in the Dandaka forests, made famous in the Rāmāyaṇa in connection with the story of Rāmā's exile. According to the description as given in the Rāmāyaṇa, the forest seems to have covered almost the whole of Central India from the Bundelkhand region to the Godāvarī (J. R. A. S., 1894 p. 241; cf. Fausboll Jātaka, Vol. V. p. 29), but the Mahābhārata seems to limit the Dandaka forest to the source of the Godāvarī (Sabhā P. XXX. 1169; Vana P. LXXXV. 8183-4).

Paurikas—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Paunikas instead (XLV. 127), perhaps erreneously. According to the Harivamśa, Purikā was a city in the Māhiṣmatī kingdom (XCV. 5220-8). It is not improbable that Purikā was the city of the Paurikas.

Maulikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Maunikas (XLV. 127) instead; the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata refers to a people named Mauleyas. The Maulikas were evidently the people of Mūlaka mentioned in the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta Nipāta. (For an account of the Mūlakas see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, p. 26).

Aśmakas -- They are a famous ancient Indian tribe referred to in ancient Greek accounts and Sanskrit and Pāli literature. (For a full account of the tribe, see my Ancient Indian Tribes, p. 86).

Bhogavadham occurs in the Barhut Inscriptions (Vide Barua and Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions, p. 15.).

Naiṣikas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Nairṇikas (XLV. 127) but none of these names can be identified. Pargiter suggests an identification with the Nāsikyas or the people of Nasik, mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVIII. 24).

Kuntalas—The Kuntalas were a well-known people of the South, mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣma P. IX. 367, Karṇa P. XX, 779) as well as in inscriptions. They occupied a region almost conterminous with the Kanarese districts.

Andhras-- The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Andhras instead (XLV. 127) which is undoubtedly the correct reading. They were a famous and well-known people who founded a kingdom in the third century A. D. In very early times they seem to have been rude people (Sabhā P. IV. 119; XXX. 1175; Vana P. LI. 1988), and were probably non-Aryans, for they are always mentioned with such tribes as the Pulindas, Śabaras, Kirātas, Ābhiras, etc.

Udbhidas— The tribe cannot be identified.

Vana-dārakas— The Vāyu Purāņa reads Nala-Kālikas (XLV. 127). The tribe cannot be identified.

APARANTA OR WESTERN COUNTRY

(Mārkaņdeya Purāņa, 57. 49-52)

"Hear from me the names of the Western peoples: the Süryārakas, the Kālibalas and the Durgas, and the Anikatas, and the Pulindas, and the Sumīnas, the Rūpapas, and the Svāpadas, and the Kuruminas, and all the Kathākṣaras, and the others who are called Nāsikyavas and the others who live on the north bank of the Narmadā the Bhirukacchas, and the Maheyas, and the Sārasvatas also and the Kāśmīras, and the Surāṣṭras, and the Āvantyas and the Arbudas also. These are the western people."

(Pargiter. Mark P., pp. 338-40).

Sūryārakas—Doubtless this is a misreading for Śūrpārakas. The Śūrpāraka country was known from very early times, and is celebrated in the Mahābhārata in connection with the legend of Rāma Jāmadagnya (Vana P. LXXXV. 8185). There it is located in the western region, but some passages seem to locate it in the south as well (Sabhā P. XXX.1169, Vana P. LXXXVIII. 8337). This does not mean that there were two Śūrpārakas; the fact is that the situation of Śūrpāraka has been interpreted in some passages as west and in other passages as south, because it was near the southern sea in the western region. According to the same tradition the country was situated on the sea near Prabhāṣa (Vana P. CXVIII. 10221-7) identical with modern Somanath in Kathiawar. The city of Śūrpāraka, identical with the modern town of Sopārā near Bassein, is said to have been founded by Rāma Jāmadagnya (Hariv. XCVI. 5300).

Kūlivalas— The Vāyu Purāņa reads Kolavanas (XLV. 128), but none of the names is identifiable.

Durga-- Tha Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 359) of the Mahābhārata gives a similar name, Durgalas, but the names are not identifiable.

Anīkaļās—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Kolavanas (XLV. 128) but the names are not identifiable.

Pulindas—The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Puleyas (XLV. 129 and Matsya Kulīyas (CXIII. 49). These names are not identifiable. For the Pulindas, however, see note on the tribe above.

Suminas -- The Vāyu Purāṇa (XLV. 129) reads Surālas and the Matsya Sirālas (CXIII. 49). None of these names are identifiable.

 $R\overline{u}papas$ — The variants are $R\overline{u}pasas$ ($V\overline{a}yu$, XLV. 129; Matsya, CXIII. 49) and $Rupav\overline{a}hikas$ ($Bh\overline{s}ma$ P. IX. 351). They are not identifiable.

 $Sv\bar{a}padas$ — The Vāyu and Matsya read Tāpasas (XLV. 129; CXIII. 49 respectively). They are not identifiable.

Kurumins-- The variants are Turasitas (Vāyu, XLV. 129), Taittirikas (Matsya, CXIII. 49) which is almost similar to Tittiras (Bhīsma P. L. 2084). They cannot be identified.

Nāsikyavas—The Nāsikyas are certainly the people of Nāsik. The Matsya Purāņa reads Vāsikas which is evidently a mistake.

Kathāksaras -- The Vāyu Purāņa reads Pāraksaras (XLV. 129) and the Matsya Kāraskaras (CXIII. 49). They are not identifiable.

Bhīrukacchas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Bhārukacchas (CXIII. 50) who are the same people, namely the Bhṛgukacchas of Sanskrit literature. Bhṛgukaccha, Bharukaccha, Bhīrukaccha are all identifiable with the modern Broach or Bharuch which is the Barygaza of early Greek geographers.

 $M\bar{a}heyas$ — They must have been the people dwelling along the banks of the Māhi. The Māheyas are the same as the Māhikas of the Bhīsma Parva list (IX. 354).

Sārasvatas—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Sahasas and Sāśvatas instead (XLV. 130); but these names are not identifiable. The Sārasvatas are of course the people dwelling along the Sarasvatī, the river that flows into the sea past Prabhāsa, i. e. modern Somnath (Vana P. LXXXII. 5002-4; Śalya P. XXXVI. 2048-51).

Kāśmīras— Evidently it is a misreading, for the Kāśmīras

can in no way be located in the western region. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Kacchviyas (XLV. 131) and the Matsya Kacchikas (CXIII. 51); these are undoubtedly the correct readings and mean the people of Kaccha or Cutch.

Surāṣṭras— The Surāṣṭras are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, and were a famous people. (For an account of the tribe see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II. pp. 23 ff.).

Avantyas—They are undoubtedly the people of Avanti (For an account of the tribe see my Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I. pp. 139-155). But the reading as given in the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas (XLV. 131 and CXIII. 51 respectively) is perhaps better. They read Anarta whose capital was Dvārakā or Dvārāvatī, the modern Dwarka on the sea-shore. (Śānti P. CCCXLI. 12955; Hariv. CXIII. 6265-6).

Arbudas— They must have been the people dwelling on the mount Arbuda which is the ancient name for Mount Abu.

PEOPLES AND COUNTRIES OF THE VINDHYAN REGION

..........Śṛṇu Vindhyanivāsinaḥ II
Sarajāśca Karūṣāśca Keralāścotkalaiḥ saha I
Uttamarṇā Daśārṇāśca Bhojyāḥ Kiṣkindhakaiḥ saha II
Tosalāḥ Kośalāścaiva Traipurā Vaidiśastathā I
Tumburāstumbulāścaiva Paṭavo Naiṣadhaiḥ saha II
Annajāstuṣṭikārāśca Vīrahotrāhyavantayaḥ I
Ete janapadāḥ Sarve Vindhyapṛṣṭhanivāsinaḥ II
(Mārkandeya Purāna, 57, 52-55).

"Hear the inhabitants of the Vindhya Mountains. The Sarajas, and Karūṣas, and the Keralas, and Utkalas, the Uttamarnas, and the Daśārṇas, the Bhojyas, and the Kiṣkindhakas, the Tośalas, and the Kośalas, the Traipuras and the Vaidiśas, the Tumburas, and the Tumbulas, the Patus and the Naiṣadhas, Annajas, and the Tuṣṭikāras, the Vīrahotras and the Avantis. All these people dwell on the slopes of the Vindhya Mountains."

(Pargiter, Mark. P. pp. 340-44).

Sarajas— The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇa read Mālavas (XLV. 132 and CXIII. 52 respectively), which no doubt is the correct reading. The Mālavas, it is well-known, had settlements in 2 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

different parts of India (For an account of the tribe see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, pp. 37 ff.); the tribe referred to here may probably mean that branch of the Mālavas which settled in and around that portion of Malwa which borders on the Vindhyas. The Mālavas are again and again mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXXIII. 1270, LI. 1871; Vana P. CCLIII. 15256, etc.).

Karūṣas— They are the same as the Kārūṣas, and Kāruṣakas (For an account of the tribe, see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II. pp. 31-33).

Keralas—This is undoubtedly wrong, for the Keralas cannot in any way be placed on the slopes of the Vindhyas, they being a people of the far South. The Vāyu (XLV. 132) and the Matsya Purāṇas (CXIII. 52) read Mekalas which seems to be the correct reading. The Mekalas are those people who dwelt on the Mekala hills and the country around. They are coupled in early Indian literature and inscriptions either with the Ambaṣṭhas or with the Utkalas. (Bhīṣma P. IX. 348; Droṇa P. IV. 122 etc.). (For an account of the tribe see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, p. 28).

Utkalas—They were a well-known people in ancient India though they are not often mentioned in the epics. According to the Raghuvamśa (IV. 38), their territory bordered in the east on the river Kapiśā, probably the modern Kasai in Midnapur. Utkala seems to have comprised the southern portion of Chotanagpur and almost the whole of the modern province of Orissa except Purl and Cuttack.

Uttamarnas— The Matsya Purāṇa reads Auṇḍramāṣas (CXIII. 52) but none of these names are identifiable. The Uttamarṇas are however presumably the Uttamas of Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 348) of the Mahābhārata.

Dasārnas—They are evidently the people of the country watered by the river of the same name identified with the modern Dasan, a tributary of the Jumna. The capital of the country was Vidišā, situated on the river Vetravatī, the modern Betwa. The people and their kingdom are referred to frequently in the Mahābhārata (Ādi. P. CXIII. 4449; Vana P. LXIX. 2707-8; Udyoga P. CXC-CXCIII; Bhīsma P. IX. 348, 350, 363, Vide also my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, pp. 29-30).

Bhojas—The Vāyu (XLV. 132) and Matsya Purāṇas (CXIII 52) read Bhojas which is undoubtedly a better and more probable reading. It is well-known that the Bhojas who are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Vana P. XIV. 629, XX. 791, CXVI. 10172-6, CCLIII. 15245; Mausala P. VII. 244-45; Hariv. XXXVII. 1980-87, etc.) were a Yādava tribe and dwelt in north-eastern Gujrat. The Bhojas referred to here may have been a branch of the main tribe inhabiting the western slopes of the Vindhyas. (For further details regarding the tribe see my "Some Ancient Indian Tribes," Indian Culture, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 384-86).

Kişkindhakas—It is doubtful that they are identical with the people of Kişkindhyā mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, for Kişkindhyā of Rāmāyaṇa was situated far below in the South. In the circumstances it is not easy to identify the tribe.

Tosalas—The Matsya Purāna reads Stosalas (CXIII. 53) evidently erroneously, for Tosalas is correct reading meaning the people of Tosali or Tosala and the adjoining region. Tosali or Tosala was name of a country as well as of a city. The city of Tosali was the seat of the provincial government of Kalinga in the days of Aśoka; while the country or janapada of "Amita-Tosala" is referred to in the Gandavyūha along with its city Tosala. In Pauranic literature, Tosala is always associated with Daksina Kosala, and distinguished from Kalinga. Tosala in mediæaval times seems to have been divided into two parts: Daksina Tosala and Uttara Tosala (Ep. Iud. IX. 286; XV. 3). The city of Tosala seems to have been the same as Tosalei of Ptolemy.

Kosalas—These are undoubtedly the people of Mahā-Kosala or Dakṣiṇa-Kosala, well-known in early literature and inscriptions. Vide my Ancient Indian Tribes, pp. 34-85.

Traipuras—They are the people of Tripuri or Tripura which was both a city and a country. The city of Tripuri was the capital of the Cedi kingdom. It was a well-known city that derived its name from three cities or tri-pura once in possession of the asuras (Sabhā P. XXX. 1164; Vana P. CCLIII. 15246; Karna P. XXXIII

¹ Levi, Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidian dans l'Inde, J. A., Jul.-Sept. 1923.

and XXXIV). In the time of the Guptas Tripuri-visaya was formed into a province under a viceroy; it roughly corresponded to the modern Jubbulpur region which was the ancient Cedi country.

Vaidišas—These are undoubtedly the poople of Vidišā, a famous city of early times, the capital of the Dašārņa country, both immortalised by Kālidāsa in his Meghadūtam. Vidišā is probably the modern Bes-nagar, close to Bhilsa; it was situated on the river Vetravatī, modern Betwa.

Tumburas and Tumbulas—The Matsya Purāṇa reads Tumburas (CXIII. 53) and the Bhisma Parva gives (L. 2084) Tumbumas. Closely allied to them were probably the Tumbulas where the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas read Tumuras and Tumbaras respectively. These names cannot be identified.

Patus—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Satsuras (XLV. 133) and Matsya Padgamas (CXIII. 53). None of these names are identifiable.

Naisadhas—or Nisadhas, the people of Nisadha. (For an account of the tribe see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II. pp. 63ff.).

Annajas—Evidently this, and the Matsya Purāṇa reading of Arūpas (CXIII. 54), are erroneous. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Anūpas (XLV. 134) which undoubtedly is correct. The country of the Anūpas must have been situated somewhere on the sea. King Kārttavīrya (Vana P. CXVI. 16189-90) as well as king Nala lorded over the Anūpa country (Bhīṣma P. XCV. 4210) which is probably to be sought for somewhere near Surāṣṭra and Ānarta with which the Harivamśa associates Anūpa (XCIV. 5142-80). Evidently the country was included within the sphere of the Māhiṣmatī.

Tuṣtikāras—Doubtless it is a misreading. The Vāyu Purāṇa reads Tuṇḍikeras (XLV. 134) which is supported by the Mahābhārata (Droṇa P. XVII. 691; Karṇa P. V. 138) and the Harivamsa (XXXIV. 1895). According to the Harivamsa, they belonged to the Haihaya race (ibid). The tribe seems to have left their trace in the little town of Tendukhera, a little to the

north of the source of the Narmada (Pargiter, Mark, P. p. 344 note). The Matsya Purana reading of Saundikeras is incorrect.

Virahotras—The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas read Vītihotras (XLV. 134; CXIII. 54) which is undoubtedly correct. Presumably they were descended from king Vītihotra and were a branch of the Haihaya race (Hariv. XXXIV. 1895). A variant of their name is given in the Droṇa Parva of the Mahābhārata (LXX. 2436). The name Vīrahotra or Varahotra is met with in the Sānci Inscriptions of the 2nd century B. C.

Avantis—They were an important tribe in ancient India who had their capital at Ujjain. (For a fuller account of the tribe see my Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, Vol. I., pp. 139-155).

PARVATAŚRAYIN OR THE PEOPLE OF THE MOUNTAIN (OR HIMĀLAYAN) REGION

Ato désān pravakṣyāmi parvvatāśrayiṇaśca ye I Nīhārā Hamsamārgāśca Kuravo gurgaṇāḥ Khasāḥ II Kunta-Prāvaraṇāścaiva Ūrṇā Dārvvā Sakṛtrakāḥ I Trigarttā Mālavāscaiva Kirātāstāmasaiḥ saha II

(Mark. P. Chap. 57. 56-57).

"Next I will tell you also the names of the countries which rest against the Mountains (i. e., the countries of the Himālayan region). The Nīhāras, and the Hamsamārgas, the Kurus, the Gurgaņas, the Khasas, and the Kunta-prāvaraņas, the Urņas, the Dārvas, the Sakṛtrakas, the Trigarttas, the Gālavas, the Kirātas and the Tāmasas."

(Pargiter, Mark. P. pp. 345-47).

Nihāras—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Nigarharas (XLV. 135) and the Matsya Nirāhāras (CXIII. 55). None of these names are identifiable; but Nihāras may generally mean those people dwelling on the snowy (nihāra) slopes of the Himālayas.

Hamsamargas—They cannot satisfactorily be identified.

Kurus—These must be the Uttara Kurus, a semi-mythical country referred to frequently in both the epics as well as in early Pali literature. Their country cannot definitely be identi-

fied, but presumably it was somewhere beyond Kasmir on the other side of the Himālayas.

Gurganas—The Matsya Purāna reads A-pathas (CXIII. 55). But none of them can be identified.

Khasas—The Khasas presumably a non-Aryan tribe, and foreign as well. In the epic tradition the Khasas are associated with the Sakas, Daradas etc. (Sabhā, P. LI. 1859; Drona P. XI. 399; and CXXI. 4846-47), and were considered *mlecchas* (Hariv. XCV. 6440-41. XIV. 784).

Kunta-prāvaraņas—The Vāyu Purāņa reads Kuṣa-prāvaraṇas (XLV. 136). The Mahābhārata often (e.g., Sabhā P. LI. 1875; Bhīṣma P. LI. 2103) speaks of a people called Karṇa-prāvarṇas who probably are meant. But they cannot definitely be identified.

Urnas—They have already been mentioned as a northern people.

Dārvas-The have also been mentioned as a northern people.

Sakritrakas—Perhaps the Śakridgrahas of the Bhīṣma Parva list (IX. 373) are meant. They were a rude non-Aryan tribe, but they cannot definitely be identified.

Trigarttas—For a full account of the tribe see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, pp. 55 ff.

Gālavas—They were probably those people who claimed their descent from sage Gālava, but they cannot be definitely identified.

Kirātas—They were a rude non—Aryan tribe distributed in different regions of India. (For a full account of the tribe see Indian Culture, Vol. I, on. 3. pp. 381-82 my article on "Some Ancient Indian Tribes").

 $T\overline{a}$ mass-They have already been mentioned as a northern people, but cannot satisfactorily be identified.

COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE POSITION OF THE KURMA

Here we practically come to an end of the geographical (i. e. Navakhanda) canto (i. e. Chap. 57) of the Mārkandeya Purāna,

which in fact contains the strictly geographical information of other major Purāṇas. But the Mārkaṇḍeya has also another section (Chap. 58, i. e., the Kūrmavibhāga or the Kūrma niyāsa) containing a list of countries and peoples of India arranged according to the position of the country conceived as a tortoise as it lies on the water resting upon Viṣṇu and looking Eastwards. This arrangement is based, on earlier astronomical works like those of Parāśara and Varāhamihira. This chapter though not strictly geographical contains valuable topographical information. Most of these countries and peoples have already been mentioned in the Navakhaṇḍa section but there are good many names which are new, though quite a number of them cannot be satisfactorily identified. Here I propose to deal with only the additional names of peoples and countries mentioned in the Kūrma Vibhāga.

(a) In the middle of the tortoise

The Vedamantras and the Vimāṇdavyas cannot satisfactorily be identified.

Śālvas, Śālyas and Śālveyas are one and the same people, and are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata, where their location is suggested to have been near the Kurus and Trigarttas (Virāṭa P. I. 11-12; XXX). The story of Satyavān, a Śalya (or Śālva) prince and Sāvitrī, a Madra princess, is quite well-known. In the time of the Kuruksetra war the Śālva king was an important personage, a brother of King Śiśupāla of Cedi (Hariv. CVIII. 6029, Vana P. XIV. 620-7). The Śālvas seem to have occupied some region west of the Aravalli hills and not very far from Kṛṣṇa's country, for, in the Harivamśa the Śālva king is said to have once attacked Dyārāvatī, but was killed by Kṛṣṇa in retaliation (Droṇa P. XI. 395).

It is difficult to say where the Nīpas had their habitat: but one can gather that they descended from king Nīpa, a Paurava, who had his capital in Kāmpilya, modern Kampil on the Ganges (Mbh. Ādi. P. CXXXVIII. 5512-13; Matsya P. XLIX. 52 and 53; Hariv. XX. 1060-73). Later, they came to be regarded as degraded (Sabhā. P. XLIX. 1804; L. 1844).

The Sakas were a well-known foreign tribe, classed with the

Yavanas, Kambojas, Pahlavas, Tukhāras, Khasas, etc., and considered mlecchas in Indian historical tradition as contained in the Epics and Purāṇas.

Ujjihānas are difficult to be identified; but Pargiter suggests their probable association with Urjihāna, a town situated southeast of Hastināpur, identical probably with Ujhani about 11 miles south-west of Budaon.

The Ghosa-Sāmkhyas cannot be identified.

Dharmāranya is to be identified with a forest near Gayā (Vana P. LXXXIV. 8063-4; Anuśāsana P. XXV. 1744; CLXV. 7655; Vana P. LXXXVII. 8304-8).

The Jyotişikas and the Gauragrīvas cannot be satisfactorily identified, nor can we identify definitely the Sanketas, the Kankas the Mārutas, the Kāla-Koṭiṣas, the Pāṣaṇḍas, and the Kapingalas.

The Kuruvāhyas must necessarily include the Kurus, but it is difficult to say who are the other races meant.

The Udumbaras are certainly the Audumbaras of the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. LI. 1869). Lassen identifies Udumbara country with Cutch (Ind. Att. map.); but this is doubtful, for, here they are placed in the Madhyadeśa. There was a river Udumbarāvatī in the South (Hariy, CLXVIII, 9511).

The Gajāhvayas are the same as the people of Hastināpura which is also known as Gajapura, Gajāhvaya, Gajasāhvaya, Nāgapura, Nāgasāhvaya, Vāraṇāhvaya and Vāraṇa-sāhvaya, in the Mahābhārata. All the names are coined by playing on the meaning of the word 'hasti', i. e. elephant.

(b) In the face of the Tortoise

The Vadana-danturas, the Candreśvaras, the cannibals dwelling on the seacoast, and the Ekapādapas cannot be identified.

The Subhras were the same people as the Suhmas.

The mention of the Khaśas as situated in different parts of the Tortoise's body suggests that the tribe, a mleccha one, was distributed over different localities of India; so with the Abhiras and similar tribes.

The Lauhityas are certainly those people dwelling along the

Lauhitya river, i. e. the Brahmaputra. This is further supported by the fact that they are mentioned just after the Prāgjyotiṣas.

The Kaśāyas probably mean the people of Kāśī, if so they are certainly misplaced here.

The Mekhalāmuṣtas is a curious reading; almost certainly it stands for the Mekalas and the Ambaṣthas, mixed up by the copyist in a curious compound. For an account of the two tribes see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, pp. 28 and 34-36).

The Vardhamānas are certainly the people who lived in the ancient visaya or $bh\bar{u}kti$ of Vardhamāna identical with modern Burdwan.

(c) In the Tortoise's fore-foot

The Jatharas, the Mṛṣikas, the Urdhva-Karṇas, the Nārikelas, the Dharmadvīpas, the Elikas, the Vyāghragrīvas, the Mahā-grīvas, the Haimakūṭas (the Himālayas cannot be meant here) and the Kākulālakas cannot be identified; some of these names are indeed fanciful.

The Katakasthalas are indeed the people of Kataka (modern Cuttack).

The naked Hārikas may mean the Hādis of modern times, an aboriginal tribe, now found scattered all over western Bengal and Orissa.

The Niṣādas were an aboriginal race dwelling generally in forest tracts. (For an account of the tribe see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, pp. 63-64).

The Parna-savaras were evidently a branch of the Savaras who lived on leaves or who wore leaves.

(d) In the Tortoise's right flank

Lankā is Ceylon.

The Kālājinas, the Śailikas, the Nikatas, the Sarvas, the Ākaņin people, the Gonarddhas, the Kolagiras, those who inhabit Carmapatta, the Ganavāhyas, the Paras, the Vāricaras, those who have their dwelling in Kṛṣṇadvīpa, the peoples who live by the Sūrya hill and the Kumuda hill, the Aukhāvanas, the Piśikas, the Karma-nāyakas, the Tāpasāśramas, and the people who dwell in Kuājara-dari.

3 [Annals. B. Q. R. I.]

The Dāśapuras are the people of Daśapura (or Mandasor), the capital of king Ranti-deva (Megha D. I, 46-48).

The Citrakūtas are the people living on the mount Citrakūta, still known by the same name.

The Southern Kaurūsas were a branch of the Kāruṣa or Karūṣa race already discussed.

The Reabhas are the people dwelling on the Reabha parvata identified with the southern portion of the Eastern Ghats.

Kāñci is modern Conjeeveram.

Tilangas should properly be read as Tailangas or Tri-lingas, people of Telinga or the modern Telugu country.

Kaccha, the same as Kochchi, the modern Cochin in Travan-core.

Tāmraparni is the land perhaps on both sides of the river of the same name in the extreme south. There is also a town of the same name in Ceylon which itself is also sometimes known as Tāmraparni.

(e) In the Cuter foot

The Vadavā-mukhas, the Vanitā-mukhas, the Drāvaņas, the Sārgigas, the Karna-prādheyas, the Pāraśavas (perhaps those who claimed descent from Paraśurāma), the Kalas, the Dhūrtakas, the Haimagirikas, the Sindhukālakavairatas and the Mahārņavas cannot be satisfactorily identified.

(f) In the Tortoise's tail

The Śāntikas, the Vipraśastakas, the Kokankanas, the Pañcadakas, the Vamanas, the Avaras, the Tārakṣuras, the Angatakas, the Śarkaras, the Śālma-vesmakas, the Guru-svaras (evidently a branch of the Savaras), the Phalgunakas, the Ghoras, the Guru-has, the Kalas, the Ekekṣanas, the Vāji-keśas, the Dīrgha-grīvas and the Aśva-keśas cannot be satisfactorily identified.

(g) In the Tortoise's left hind foot

The Māndavyas (probably those who claimed descent from sage Māndavya), the Candakhāras, the Aśvakalantakas, the Kunyatāladahas, the Strīvāhyas, the Bālikas, the Nṛṣimhas, the people who dwell in Valāva, the Dharmabaddhas, the Alūkas (probably the Ulūkas), and the people who occupy Urukarma cannot be satisfactorily identified.

The Balikas are evidently the Bahlikas.

(h) In the Tortoise's left flank

The Krauñcas, the Vakas, the Kṣudravīnas, the Rasālayas, the Bhogaprasthas (perhaps Bhojaprastha=Bhojanagara, the capital of king Uśīnara), the Agñijyas, the Sārdana peoples, the Aśvamukhas, the Prāptas, the Cividas, the Dāserakas, the Adhama-Kairātas, the Ambālas, the Veņukas, the Vadantikas, the Pingalas, the Mānakalahas, the Kohalakas, the Bhūti-yuvakas, the Śātakas, the Hema tārakas, the Yaśomatyas, the Kharasāgara-rāśis, the Dāsameyas, the Rājanyas, the Śyāmakas, and the Kṣemadhūrtas cannot be satisfactorily identified.

Yāmunas— They are the people who dwelt along the Jamunā.

Antar-dvīpa is the same as the Antar-vedi, the land between the Ganges and the Jamunā.

For an account of the Yaudheyas see my Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol. II, pp. 43-44.

(i) In the Tortoise's north-east foot

The Yenas, the Kimnaras, the country Prasupāla, the country Kīcaka, the Davadas, the Vana-rāstrakas, the Sairisthas, the Brahmapurakas, the Vana-vāhyakas, the Kausikas, the Ānandas, the Lolanas, the Dārvādas, the Marakas, the Kurutas, the Annādārakas, the Eka-pādas, the Ghosas, the Svarga-bhaumāna-vadyakas, the Hingas, the Cīraprāvaraņas and the Trinetras cannot satisfactorily be identified.

The Abhisāras are the people of the Abhisāra country, the Abhisaras of early Greek geographers, a people of the Punjab. Their capital Abhisāri is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā P. XXVI. 1097 Bhīṣma P. IX. 361).

The Kulatas are evidently the Kulutas, presumbly the people of the Kulu valley.

The Pauravas are evidently those who claimed descent from Puru, a son of Yayāti. The Pauravas had different settlements (Cf. Mbh. Sabhā P. XXVI. 1022-25; Śānti P. XLIX. 1790-92; Adi. P. CLXXXVI. 6995).

APPENDIX

Full list of countries and peoples of India mentioned in the Kūrmavibhāga.

(a) In the middle of the tortoise are placed the following countries and peoples:

The Vedamantras, Vimāndavyas, Śālvas, Nīpas, Śakas, Ujjihānas, Ghoṣa-sāmkhyas, Khaśas, Sārasvatas, Matsyas, Śūrasenas, people of Mathurā, Dharmāranyas, Jyotiṣikas, Gauragrīvas, Gudas, Aśmakas, Vaidehakas, Pāñcālas, Sanketas, Kankas, Mārutas, Kālakotisas, Pāṣandas, inhabitants of the Pāripātra mountains, Kāpingalas, Kuruvāhyas Udumbaras and the Gajāhvayas.

(b) In the face of the tortoise are situated the following countries and peoples:

The people of Mithilā, the Subhras, Vadanadanturas, Candreśvaras, Khaśas, Magadhas, Prāgjyotisas, and the Lauhityas, the Cannibals who dwell on the sea-coast, Kaṣayas, Mekhalāmuṣṭas, Tāmraliptas, Ekapādapas, Vardhamānas, and the Kośalas.

(c) The following countries and peoples are situated in the Tortoise's right fore-foot:

The Kalingas, Vangas, Jatharas, Kośalas, Mṛṣikas, Cedis, Ūrdhvakaraṇas, Matsyas, others who dwell on the Vindhya mountains, Vidarbhas, Nārikelas, Dharmadvīpas, Elikas, Vyāghragrīvas, Mahāgrīvas, the bearded Traipuras, Kaiṣkindhyas, Haimakūtas, Niṣhadhas, Kaṭakasthalas, Daṣārṇas, the naked Hārikas, Niṣādas Kākulālakas and the Parṇaśavaras.

(d) The following countries and peoples are placed on the right flank of the tortoise:

Lankā, tha Kālājinas, Sailikas, Nikatas, those who dwell on the Mahendra and Malaya mountains and the Durdura hill, those who dwell in the Karkotaka forest, Bhrgukacchas, Konkanas. Sarvas. Abhiras, those who dwell on the river Venva, Avantis, Dāsapuras, the Ākanin people, Mahā-rāstras, Karnātas, Gonarddhas, Citrakūtakas, Colas, Kolagiras, the people who wear matted hair (Jāṭādharas) in Krauñcadvīpa, the people who dwell on the Kaveri and on mount Rsyamukha, those who are called Nāsikyas, those who wander by the borders of the Sankha and Sukti and other hills and Vaidūrya mountains, Vāricaras, Kolas those who inhabit the Carmapatta, the Ganavahyas, Paras, those who dwell in Kranadvipa, the peoples who dwell near the Sūrya hill and the Kumuda hill, Aukhāvanas, Pišikas, Karmanāyakas, southern Karūsas, Rsikas, Tāpasāśrama, Rsabhas, Simhalas, those who inhabit Kāñci, Tilangas, those inhabit Kuñjaradari and Kaccha and Tāmraparņi.

(e) The countries and peoples located in the right hand foot are the following:

The Kāmbojas, Pahlavas, Badavāmukhas, Sindhus, Sauvīras, Ānartas, Vanitāmukhas, Drāvaņas, Sārgigas, Śūdras, Karņa-prādheyas, Varvaras, Kirātas, Pāradas, Pāṇdyas, Pāraśavas Kalas, Dhūrtakas, Haimagirikas, Sindhu-Kālaka-Vairatas, Saurāṣṭras, Daradas, Drāvidas, and the Mahārnavas.

(f) The countries and peoples situated on the tortoise's tail

are the following:

The Aparāntikas, Haihayas, Śāntikas, Vipraśastakas, Kokankanas, Pañcadakas, Vamanas, Avaras, Tārakśuras, Angatakas, Śālma-veśmakas, Gurusvaras, Phalgunakas, the people who dwell by the river Venumati, Phalgulukas, Ghoras, Guruhās, Kalas, Ekekṣaṇas, Vājikeśas Dīrghagrīvas, Cūlikas, Aśvakeśas.

(g) The countries and peoples situated in the left hind foot of the tortoise are the following:

The Māṇḍavyas, Caṇḍakhāras, Aśvakalantakas, Kunyatālaḍahas, Strīvāhyas, Sālikas, Nṛ-simhas whe dwell on the Veṇumatī, other people who dwell in Valāva, Dharma-baddhas, Alukas, and the people who occupy Urukarma.

(h) The following countries and peoples are placed on the Tortoise's left flank:

Krauñcas, Kurus, Vakas, Kṣudraviṇas, Rasālayas, Kaikeyas, Bhogaprasthas, Yāmunas, Antardvipas, Trigarttas, Agñijjas, Sārdana people, Aśvamukhas, Prāptas, long-haired Cividas Dāsera kas, Vātadhānas, Śavadhānas, Puṣkalas, Adhamakairātas, those who are settled in Takṣaśilā, Ambālas, Mālavas, Madras, Veṇukas, Vadantikas, Piṅgalas, Māna-kalahas, Hūṇas, Kohalakas, Māṇḍavyas, Bhūti-yuvakas, Śātakas, Hema-tārakas, Yaśomatyas, Gāndhāras, Khara-sāgararāśis, Yaudheyas, Dāsameyas, Rājanyas, Śyāmakas and Kṣemadhūrtas.

(i) The following countries and peoples are situated on the

Tortoise's north-east foot:

Yenas, Kimnaras, the countries of Prasupāla, Kīcaka Kāsmīra the people of Abhisāra, Davadas, Tvanganas, Kulatas, Vanarāstrakas, Sairisthas, Brahmapūrakas, Vanā-vāhyakas, Kirātas, Kausikas, Ānandas, Pahlavas, Lolanas, Dārvādas, Marakas, Kurutas, Anna-dārakas, Ekapādas, Khasas, Ghosas, Svarga-bhaumānavadyakas, Hingas, Yavanas, Cīraprāvaraņas, Trinetras, Pauravas and the Gandharvas.

A FEW PARALLELS IN JAIN AND BUDDHIST WORKS

BY

A. M. Ghatage, M. A.

The two canons, of the Buddhists in Pāli and of the Jains in Ardha-Māgadhī, present us with a few interesting parallels worth consideration. The study of such parallels is interesting both for its own sake and for the light it throws on the problem of the relation in which these two religions stand with each other. The real explanation of the similarity found therein, whether it is a case of borrowing or one of common inheritance or even one of accidental coincidence, is to be decided in each particular case by considerations of its individual peculiarities. And as such their examination will help us in forming an idea about the exact relation in which these religions stand, particularly in their literary traditions.

Both the religions, Buddhism and Jainism, arose in the same country of Magadha and at about the same time. As such they partook of the same surroundings which goes a long way in determining many of their common features. But besides this general similarity of spirit and form which can be explained as due to the influence of the time-spirit we find something more to think of in the present case. The canons of both these religions show similarity not only in the general moral and disciplinary tone due mainly to the fact that they embody the same general principles of ethics which are common to both these religions which is in its turn due to the circumstance of their birth and early growth, but also in matters of composition and wording which requires something more to explain them. They raise the important question of borrowings and the authentic nature of one tradition as against the other and the question of their respective age.

Even though it is now admitted on all hands that Jainism as a religion arose a few decades earlier than Buddhism, or even

a few centuries before it, if we accept the view that not only Pārśva was a historical person but that the traditional date of his birth and death is equally trustworthy, a fact not beyond reasonable doubt; the question of the formation of the two canons of these two religions stands on a very different footing, and is in no way connected with it. It is yet very difficult to believe that the present Ardha-Māgadhī canon, which tradition itself admits to have suffered much recasting and reduction, and which has the still greater disadvantage of being repudiated by the whole of the Digambara community of the Jains, can be reasonably attributed to a period to which the Pali canon of the Buddhist is attributed at the latest. It is true that the Pāli tradition also shows us the Buddhist canon as going through the similar stages of redactions at various stages of its history. but their last council falls in the reign of king Asoka in the third century B. C.2 while the last council of the Jains comes in the fifth century A. D. in the days of the kings of Valabhi. 3 So if we are to believe in these traditions alone it is clear that the Pāli canon will have to be put much earlier than the Ardha-Māgadhī one.

This problem of the relative priority of the two canons is further rendered more difficult and complicated by the supposition of an Ardha-Māgadhī canon earlier than the present one, and a similar canon of the Buddhist which again according to Luders will have to be supposed to be written in old Ardha-Māgadhī. All such speculations have no doubt some indications in the present canons themselvas and can on that account be said to rest on facts. In the case of the Jain canon we even possess an outline of the older canon preserved to us with more or less accuracy, while it will be very unwise to put down the whole of the Pāli canon at the time of Aśoka. But it is equally true that it is not possible now to separate them from their later

¹ Keith, Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon. Ch. i. pp. 15-24.

² Cp. Rhys Davids. Buddhism its History and Literature pp. 187-195. Winternitz, His. Ind. Lit. Vol. II, pp. 4-5; Kern. Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 103ff.

³ Charpentier. Introduction to his edition of the Uttaradhyayana, pp.15-16.

⁴ Brüchstucke Buddhistischen Dramen, Einleitung.

additions with anything like certainty. For the present purpose then of comparing a few parallel passages from the two canons it is better to set them aside and to start without the supposition of earlier works not to be found to day, even though the parallels themselves are adduced to prove their existence.

To begin with, we have a number of stories common to the two canons which we take for consideration. Of all the works of the Jain canon the Uttaradhyayana is the most important as it preserves many interesting stories and parables which are also to be met with in various works of the Buddhist. Here we meet the story of the two persons called Citra and Sambhūta who were fast friends at the beginning and wandered a series of lives together but at the end suffered very different fates because of their characters. This story is also found in the Jātaka collections in the Citta-Sambhūta-Jātaka. 2 As pointed out by Dr. J. Charpentier the two chapters show similarity not only in the general outline of the story and its main incidents but even in the verses found in them which are common to both the books. The story in the Uttaradhyayana is in verses only while the one found in the Jātaka books is in mixed verse and prose as usual. This fact along with the fact that the Gāthās of the Jātaka are decidedly older than the prose which is very late as can be seen both on linguistic and logical grounds would lead us to suppose that the story as preserved in the Uttaradhyayana is the older of the two. But the Jain version says nothing of the earlier lives of these two friends which are however referred to in their conversation. 3 The Jataka gives us all the details about this earlier part of the story which cannot be regarded as a later modification of it or an addition to it. So also we have a few cases in which the order of the verses in the Jataka books appears more in accord with the general trend of the story than the one found in the Jain version. This is to be explained on the supposition that the Jain version has suffered in its arrangement while the Jataka books were more fortunate in having a commentary which numbered its verses very early and arranged them rigidly which has saved it from

¹ Ch. XIII, pp. 115-119.

No. 498, Fausball, Vo. 11V, pp. 390-400.

⁸ Ch. XIII, Vs. 5-7.

any further change. On the other hand the Jain version also lost the earlier part of the story which is preserved to us in the prose of the Jātakas even though it is put down much later than the writing of the chapter in the Uttarādhyayana.

Another story common to these two works is that of Isukāra 1 in the Uttarādhyayana and the Hatthipālajātaka 2 in the Jātaka books The story relates that a king and his preceptor had no son. but with the help of a tree-spirit the Purchita was able to obtain four sons who were all religious-minded. To test their zeal in the matters of religion and to know for certain whether they will live in the worldly life or not both the king and the Purchita approached them in the garbs of monks and found that all of them turned out monks. This led the wife of the Purchita and and himself to take up to asceticism and consequently the king and the queen also do the same thing. In this case it will be seen that the story of the Jataka books is fuller and gives many details about the birth of the four sons of the Purchita which are wanting in the charter of the Jain work. There the story begins abruptly with the statement that all the characters in the story were born in the same town descending from their heavenly abode. Another difference between the two versions is about the number of the sons the Purchita had, they are four in the Jātaka while only two in the Uttaradhyayana chapter. This fact again is made use of in the Jataka books to give rise to four different occasions for the renouncing of this world by the four sons and taking to ascetic life, which is occasioned by seeing the king and the Purchita in the garbs of a monk, and the repetition of the same situation for four times. In the story as preserved in the Uttaradhyayana there appears to exist no relation between the Purchita and the king, while in the Jataka they are represented as consulting each other and plotting together to test the sons of the Purchita as to their intention of becoming monk. In the version of the Jains it appears that when all the members of the family of the Purchita took to monkhood, the king came in the possession of their property according to the rule of the Dharmasastras. This occasioned a complete change in the mind of the queen who turns her mind to nunhood and also advises the king to the same

¹ Ch. XIV, pp. 119-125.

² No. 509, pp. 473-490. Vol. IV.

^{4 [}Annals, B. O. R. I.]

effect. This fact appears to be more natural and appropriate than the one found in the Jātaka books. Considering further, facts like the story of the four sons acting exactly like each other, their long-drawn moralising, the improbable story of the spirit in the tree in the beginning which is pleased to give four sons to the Purchita alone and not a single one to the king who was in greater need of an heir, and the curious relation between the king and the Purchita, it is clear that the Jain version is not only earlier but is better preserved and the more interesting of the two.

The story of a low-caste man attaining to a high position and showing the ill-founded faith of the Brahmans in their idea of greatness in birth is found in the Hariësijjam 1 of the Uttaradhyayana and the Mātangajātaka 2 of the Buddhists. The two stories shew a good deal of divergence in all matters except the central idea of the approach of the Candala to the feast of the Brahmans the wrong treatment given to him by the priest in one case and by his own son in the other, the sound beating they receive at the hands of the demi-gods who attend on the Matanga, the approach of the woman the daughter of the king of Pañcala in case of the Jain version and of a merchant in case of the Buddhist version, her revealing the greatness of the Mātanga, and the recovery of the Brahmans from the illness. And it is interesting to note that this part of the story is to be found in the verses which are common to both the versions to a great extent. The Jain version adds little to the body of the text but the commentator 3 gives us the back-ground of the whole story. He relates how the daughter of the king of the country of Pañcala went to a temple and saw there the Candala whom she abhorred. But a spirit possessed her and to get her out of its clutches the king became ready to give her to the same low-caste man. But the sage refused to marry as its being against his monkhood. Now once he goes to the sacrificial ground of the Purohita of the king where he is refused food. And there the story begins in the Uttarādhyayana. The story in the Jātaka is much more complicated and expanded. There also the daughter of a rich merchant

¹ Ch. XII, pp. 109-115.

³ No. 497, Vol. IV, pp. 375-389.

² Op, the commentaries of Santyacarya and Devendra.

meets a Matanga and feels disgusted at his sight. The man is beaten by her servants. But he goes to the house of the merchant and lies at the door until he is given the same daughter in marriage which is done at his persistence. A son is born to them, but in the mean time he becomes a sage and to confer prosperity on his wife makes the people believe that she is the wife of the great Brahmā. While the son grows old and is worshipped by all the people, the main incidents of the story happen. From this the Jātaka proceeds to give another story of the same Mātanga only because it also deals with the same theme. Otherwise it has no connection with the main story. A comparison of the two versions will make it clear that the Buddhist story is much more elaborate and of mixed motifs. The Jain version, on the other hand is much more simple and to the point. But there is one consideration which should lead us to think that the Jain version is the older of the two. On a careful reading of the Buddhist story it is seen that the attitude behind it is much more haughty and full of bitter feelings than the one which accentuated the writer of the Jain version. This can be seen in the facts like the plain deception of the Brahmans and the administration of the food as a cure for the beating. This must have also led the writer to include the other story in the same Jataka. And such an attitude must have arisen in later times as the effect of sectarian bias. The original motive of writing such stories appears to be to show the hollow foundation of the greatness claimed by the Brahmans on account of birth alone. And this is clearly seen in the Jain version and in a much more humane and sympathetic form.

Another book of stories in the Jain canon is the sixth Anga called the Jñātādharmakathā. Here also we meet with a few parallels in the Buddhist works. The illustration of the tortoise in it has a clear parallel in the Samyutta-Nikāya II which by the nature of the case appears to be a very ancient simile developed into an illustration and used by both the religions for the specific purpose of moralising on the control of the senses. The story of the two brothers going on a voyage and suffering

¹ Ch. 4th.

² Cp. Oldenberg, Buddha, p. 313.

³ Jfistadharmakatha, Ch. 9th.

a good deal at the hands of the deity on the Ratnadvipa who killed so many ship-wrecked people and the winged horse who helped them in flying from that island, and the fall of one of the two brothers because of the temptations of that Yaksini has a parallel in Valāhassa-Jātaka where the part of the winged horse is played by the compassionate Bodhisatta.

Of greater importance is the story in the chapter of this book called the Amarakanka 2 which related the Jain version of the Brahmanic epic of the Kuru family considerably changed and modified to suit the Jain religion. In tracing the early life of Draupadi we find a very curious story of a girl called Sukumārā which has a very distinct parallel in the story of Isidasi3 in the Theri-Gāthā. The story tells of a girl who sinned in giving bad food to a monk, and as a result of which she was born in her next birth with an unpleasant touch of her body. She was married to a son of a merchant but in the very next day of their marriage he ran off to avoid her unpleasant touch. She returned back to her father's house where her father married her a second time with a monk who had come to his house to beg food. He also ran off the next day and the girl disgusted at her life took to the life of a nun. The Budddhist story of the unhappy girl is materially the same. The form in which the story is found in the Jain version is fragmentary and incomplete and is relegated to the back-ground, showing great inferiority to the other version in the Therl-Gatha which is more complete and better told. But against the natural supposition of regarding the Buddhist version as earlier on account of its artistic superiority we have many textual indications in the Pali version itself which go to prove a very different result. As remarked by Mrs. Rhys Davids 4 the whole spirit of the poem is non-Buddhistic and shows many traces of Jain tendency of valuing mortification and penance as more important. To add to this, we find such a technical term as Nirjara used in the poem, and the

¹ No. 196, Cp. Winternitz, op. cit. p. 131.

² Jnat. Ch. 16th.

³ Ed. by Müller, Verses 400-447, pp. 260-271.

⁴ In the introduction of her Psalms of the Sisters, P. T. S.

⁵ V. 431.

name of the teacher of the unhappy girl is given as Jinadatta ¹ not without significance. So it is more than probable that the writer of the Pāli poem had before him some Jain version of the story even though it may not be identical with the very meagre survival of it in the sixth Anga of the Ardha-Māgadhi canon. The Pāli tradition itself admits that the present poem in the Theri-Gāthā is much later than the bulk of the work and was introduced into the collection by the Samgitikāras.

Two other stories in the Jantadharmakatha have parallels in the anecdotes told by Buddhagosa in his Visuddhi-Magga. dering the nature of his work and his usual method of relating stories from earlier literature we can fairly suppose that the present two stories are also drawn by him from the canon or possibly from the older Atthekathas in Ceylon. This is more probable as he omits all details and satisfies himself with a bare reference which shows that the stories were very famous and already known to his readers. The story2 of the merchant becoming a frog because of his falling away from the right path to which he was first introduced and his consequent liberation is told in the Visuddhi-Magga without the previous life of the merchant, while the cause of his death is different in the two versions. In the Jain version the frog is trampled down by the hoof of Srentka's horse, while in the Buddhist story a cowherd kills the frog with a stick. The second parallel is not so marked as Buddhagosa only gives a passing remark about the central idea of the story without adding details. But the idea and the statement is so queer and out of the way that we are forced to think that there must be a story behind it. The Jain work relates the story in full. It tells us that a merchant was pursuing a thief who had carried away his daughter. But before he was able to catch hold of him the thief killed the girl and escaped. Now the father and his sons who were pursuing him found themselves in a thick forest without food. So to save themselves they ate

¹ V. 427.

² Ed. Mrs. Rhys Davids, P. T. S. Vol. I, p. 208.

³ Jñāt. Ch. 13th.

⁴ Visuddhi-Magga, Vol. I, p. 347.

⁵ Jast, Cb. 18th.

the flesh of the girl and in this manner came safe to their own town. Buddhagosa makes the father to eat the flesh of the son instead of the daughter.

Besides these parallels in story and fable, we find similarities in the two canons about some important philosophical discussions. The most important among them is dialogue in the Rayapaseniyam¹ and the Pāyāsi Suttanta² in the Digha-Nikaya. Similarities in wording and similes and expressions leave no doubt as regards their mutual relation. Either both must have followed very closely a common source or one must have made a considerable use of the other. The Jain version as found in the second Upanga forms the central theme of the work. It turns on the point of the existence of the soul independent of the body in which it is embodied. Kesi the follower of Lord Pārśva tries to prove the soul as existing and refutes the arguments of king Paësi who is a follower of the heretical teacher Ajita Kesakambali. The Pāli version makes the king bear the name Pāyāsi who holds conversation with Kumāra Kassapa who is also shown triumphant in refuting the arguments of the king. Some scholars are inclined to think that the Jain version is the later of the two. but without sufficient reasons 3. On the contrary there are a few facts which point unmistakably to the conclusion that the Jain version is the older of the two. The vehement denial of the soul which is the main function of this story is a little inconsistent with the general spirit of Buddhism. Herein Buddhism agrees more with the views of the king than his opponent who is shown as successful in both the versions. According to the Buddhist tradition itself the present Sutta is not of equal age with the others of the same collection. It is even admitted that the real name of the king was Paesi and not Payasi which is an unmistakable sign of the authentic nature of the Jain tradition as against the Buddhist version. On the other hand the Jain version is shown to be contemporaneous with Mahāvira as Kesi the disciple of Parsva is shown in other works to hold conversation with

¹ Ed. by Dr. Vaidya, Poona, 1934.

⁸ Ed. P. T. S. No. 23, Vol. II, pp. 316-358.

⁸ Cp. B. C. Law. A History of Pali Literature, 1933. Vol. I. p. 109.

⁴ Cp. Uttar. Ch. 23rd.

Gotama the chief disciple of Lord Mahāvīra. So here also we will have to admit that the Jain version of the dialogue is of batter authenticity and we can go so far as to assert that it was the Jains who first tried to refute this doctrine of Ajita as being the exact contradictory position of their own theory of the existence of the soul. The Buddhist took this refutation bodily from them even though a little inconsistent with their own vehement denial of a soul.

Another poilosophical discussion common to the two literatures is that about the refutation of the philosophy of Gosala. In the Jain works we find it stated in the Upasagadasao 1 and the Bhagavati while in the Sāmaññaphalasutta of the Digha-Nikāya is found a summary of his views. The life story of Gosāla as found in the Bhagavatī Sūtra is not to be met with in the Buddhist works. But the statement of his doctrines is common to both of them in a very similar phraseology. It is just possible that both of them were copying from the works of that sect. But the other alternative is more probable. It can very eesily be seen that Gosala was more intimately connected with Jainism than with Buddhism, even though it is very difficult to decide the exact relation in which he stood. But in view of the fact that his doctrines are taken by him from the Pürvas and his claim to be the last prophet of Jainism it appears that he represented another line of the school of Pārśva while Mahāvīra succeeded in asserting himself as the true continuer of the orthodox line. So it is more probable that the Jain version had better chances of giving the views of the school of Gosala in a more authentic form than its rival religion Buddhism.

Apart from these similarities extending over a long incident we have a good many verses 4 in common in the works of

¹ Ed. by Dr. vaidya, Poona, 1930. Chs, 6 and 7.

² Uvas pp. 139-192.

³ Ed. P. T. S. Vol. I, pp. 47-86.

⁴ I give below the common verses from Uttarādhyayana and Sūtrakṛtānga as far as I am able to detect. Utta. I, 17. Thorī-Gāthā. 247; II, 3. Therga-Gā. 243; II, 24-25. Suttanipāta. 932; III, 17. Sn. 769; IV, I. Dhp. 182; IV, 3. Thera-Gā. 786; V. 21. Dhp. 141; VIII, 13. Sn. 927: IX, 34. Dhp. 103; 44. Dhp. 70; 48-49. Māra-Sany. 11, 10, 6; X, 28. Dhp. 285: XXV, 16. Sn. 268;

these two religions. Particularly the Uttarādhyayana and the Sūtrakrtānga show many verses in common with the various books of the Pāli canon like the Dhammapada the Thera and Theri-Gāthās the Suttanipāta and stray verses from the Nikāyas. Dr. Winternitz has suggested the solution of such similar verses in the supposition that there existed before both these canons a floating mass of poetry dealing with ascetic life and ideals which was incorporated in the works of both these religions.



^{17.} Sn. 136; 31. Dhp. 264; XXVII, 8. Thera-Gā. 976. Sūtrak. I, 1, 1, 3. Sn. 394; I, 2, 1, 2. Sn. 578; I, 2, 1, 15. Samyutta-Nikāya. IX, 1; I, 2, 2, 11. Thera-Ga. 1053; I, 2, 2, 15. Dhp. 378; I, 2, 2, 17. Sn. 810; I, 3, 2, 21. Thera-Ga. 1154; I, 3, 4, 7. Theri-Ga. 508; I, 3, 4, 8. Dhp. 245; I, 5, 9, Dhp. 307; I, 7, 15-16. Theri-Ga. 241-244; I, 7, 25. Dhp. 325; I, 8, 7. Dhp. 5; I, 8, 19. Sn. 400; etc.

¹ Hist. Ind. Lit. Vol. II, P. 121, p. 125 etc.

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF USAS

BY

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The disappearance of Usas from the Vedic pantheon is as mysterious as her presence interesting. It is all the more inexplicable as we remember the amount of poetic wealth spent on the enchanting Daughter of Heaven by the Vedic Rsis who handle the theme of her rise and duration with a reverence and love that belong only to the earliest poets, or rather prophets, of mankind. But though the final exit of the charming goddess is generally regretted, its cause is, as yet, scarcely properly investigated. The universal law of Change, it is true, is the general answer to the too inquisitive questioner in all matters relating to antiquity, but still a momentous change is always worthy of our investigation. For the loss of an old order or thing, if viewed in the scientific perspective, is brought about in two ways: either by metamorphosis, in which the old disappears only to emerge as new; or by supersession, in which the old is pushed aside by a stronger new rival. The object of the present article is to prove that Usas has changed in the former sense, though the evolution is not even so much as suspected, first, because of the dimness of the intermediate stages, and secondly by reason of the great development in her new character. When, however, the progressive stages which transformed the Vedic Usas into Laksmi of later mythology become luminous, it will be easily conceded that Theology also presents instances of metamorphosis as strange or remarkable as Zoology, and as attractive as any that either Ovid or Dante depicts in poetry.

It never seems to have struck any writer on Indian mythology that though the goddess SrI (the goddess of splendour and wealth) is the same as Laksmi according to all later accounts, yet in her earlier phase she possesses certain attributes which clearly argue a period of transition. Some of them disclose her identity with Usas, while others are of a novel type. This is, of course, the intermediate stage wherein the old traits appear oddly blended with the

new, quite in conformity with the change of time. For the period which marked the close of the Rgvedic epoch was a period of transition in many respects. The old gods, severing their connection with the phenomena of Nature, were assuming a more and more anthropomorphic shape, and also a more exalted character as becomes the epic gods. The Rgvedic words, at first so strikingly cognate to the root-meaning in their import, now become gradually settled in their conventional senses. And the school of the 'Aitihāsikas'--the gleaners of old legends and myths-was busy weaving them into wondrous poetic tales. spite of this general change in theology, Indra, Varuna and the other gods have not lost their old appellations which are the most unmistakable signs of recognition. Such is not, however, the case with Usas. The Dawn, the natural phenomenon, slowly lost her divinity, but her radiance which is the very essence of her life and form came to be deified and venerated as Sri. Why this latter goddess is not even mentioned in the Rgveda, it is now easy to understand. It is in the famous 'Śri-Sūkta', which is a 'Khila Sukta' of that Veda, and undoubtedly the oldest of that class, that we see her for the first time. In this early conception of the new deity we perceive a good many attributes that usually characterise the lustre of the dawn. And that settles the question of identity notwithstanding the metonymic change. Thus, if the rays of Usas are said to be 'Candra' (delightful) in the R.V., Śrī herself is described as 'Candrā' in the Śrī-Sūkta. 2 Both are golden in complexion, and both shower the same gifts on the suppliant devotees, namely, cows, chariots, horses, heroic sons etc.3 The epithet 'Pingalā' (the Rosy) as applied to Śri in the Sūkta, is intelligible only when we view her in the light of this identification. Similarly, why Sri or Laksmi is described as clad in milk-white 4 garments, and fond of white flowers and decoration, will be clear if we remember that the original Vedic goddess is said to be

¹ Cf. उष आ भाहि भानना चन्द्रेण दृहितर्दिव: 1 R. V. I. 48-9

² चन्द्रां हिरण्मयीं लक्ष्मीं जातवेदो ममावह । Śrī-Sūkta 1

³ Compare B. V. I. 48, 12-16; also VII, 75, 8 with यस्यां हिर्ण्यं विन्देयं गामञ्ज् पुरुषानहम् । Srī Sūkta

Cf⁻ सरिसजनिलये सरोजहरते धवलतरांशुकगन्धमाल्यशोभे ।

'Subhrā' or 'Arjuni' (the white), and also as 'dressed in resplendent white'. Still more important is the epithet 'Ardra' (the wet) belonging to Śri, since it is only a paraphrase of Usas' corresponding epithet 'Odati'2 (the moist). It is necessary to remark in this connection that in later times Laksmi has not retained any such clear mark of wetness after she landed on the dry ground leaving her watery home. Next, the fact that 'Jätavedas' or Agni is implored in the Śrī-Sūkta to bring in Laksmi, furnishes the most unequivocal clue to regard Sri as identical with Usas. For the close relation of the two divinities in the Rgveda is a patent fact, while in the Sükta it is only a sort of reminiscence. 3 Again, the sisterhood between 'A-Laksmi' (Poverty, Distress), and Laksmi may fairly be traced back to the times when the dark night was sincerely looked upon as the elder sister of the bright Dawn. 4 Lastly, the epithet 'gandha-dvārā' (unfolder of fragrance), as belonging to SrI suggests the aromatic dawn, while her association with the day-lotuses (padmas) which bloom at day-break confirms it.

All this is again highly corroborated by the history of the evolution, which, when properly traced, is as interesting as the result, and makes certain moot points in the life of the Vedic goddess very luminous. It is expressly stated in the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas that the churning of the Ocean was occasioned by the disappearance of Śrī into it owing to the curse of Durvāsas, and that she was known to be the daughter of Bhṛgu in her previous existence. Now, who is Bhṛgu? The Bhṛgus, indeed, figure in the Rgveda as a clan of mighty Rṣis, like the Angirasas and the Atharvans, but none of them individually receives the distinction of special mention. It is only in the Taittirīya-Upaniṣad

¹ उषः शुक्रेण शोचिषा । ^{R. V. I. 48, 14}, रशद्वासो विश्वती शुक्रमश्वेत् । ^{VII. 77}, 2. व्यच्छन्ती युवतिः शुक्रवासाः । ^{I. 113, 7}

आर्द्री पु॰करिणी etc. Śrī-Sūkta पदं न वेत्योदती । B. V. I. 48-6.

³ तां म आवह जातवेदो छक्ष्मीमन्पगामिनीम् । Srī S. Cf. R. V. 1. 124. 1

⁴ श्यावी च यदरुषी च स्वसारी B. V. III; 55, 11 स्वसा स्वस्ने ज्यायस्ये योनिमारैक्।

that we meet with a mythological personality of that name for the first time. But then, it should be observed, he is there said to be the son of Varunal and none of the members of the Rsi-clan. When we remember that 'Bhrgu', even in Classical Sanskrit, means a 'precipice', the mystery surrounding the mythical being is at once unravelled. He is either the rising mountain, or the 'Lokaloka'--the chain of mountain that seems to encircle the earth. Viewed in this light, his paternal relation to Varuna (the Lord of the sky) becomes manifest. Again, Venus, the planet, is also called Bhrgu's son (Bhārgava), as we may n.w believe, because of his keeping close to the horizon throughout. Thus proximity or close succession was sufficient for the Vedic or post-Vedic poets to establish some kind of family connection between a pair of natural objects or phenomena. Śrī, the daughter of Bhrgu² (Bhārgavī) and the sister of the Morning star, can, therefore, be none other than Usas who invariably clings to the rising mountain, like a young maiden to her father's side.

How she disappeared into the ocean has been already referred to above. But the legend preserved in the Visnu and some other Puranas seems to be the poetic version of an old Usas myth which may be traced in the Rgveda. The reader of Usas hymns is startled, indeed, when he sees the mighty god Indra chastising the terrified celestial maiden-smashing her car in splinters, and chasing her to a great distance through the aerial space.3 And yet, the enormity of the crime for which she is so mercilessly dealt with is scarcely proclaimed. We are simply told that the offending goddess was a 'durhanāyu' i. e. 'a goer on the wrong track ' (if 'han' means to 'go' according to the Grammarians' maxim ये इन्त्यर्थास्ते गत्यर्थाः); or, 'desirous of killing Indra' (if 'han' means to 'kill'). All Vedic scholars, so far as I know, have been at a loss to understand the exact motive or [magnitude of Usas' guilt. Even the great scholiast, Sāyana, contents himself only with the paraphrase of the words, where we want an explanation of the myth. Now as a natural phenomenon this is intelli-

¹ Tait. U. III. 2.

भृगोः स्यात्यां समुत्पन्ना श्रीः पूर्वमुद्धेः युनः । देवदानवयत्नेन प्रसुताऽमृतमम्थने ॥ V. P. I. 9, 38.

³ R. V. IV. 30, 8-11

gible enough: Indra, the sun-god viewed as the dispeller of clouds and darkness, scares away the mild Usas by his superior effulgence. Her crime is, probably, nothing more than lingering a little longer even after sunrise on a cloudy day. But however we may explain the phenomenon, its mythological importance can never be overrated. For this is the very myth which is referred to, though in a slightly altered form, in the Rāmāyana, and which later on developed into the grand puranic legend of the Churning of the Ocean. The reference in the $R\bar{a}m\bar{a}yana$ is clearly to the earlier version of the exploit of the Vedic war-god against the gentle Usas. When young Rāma, in obedience to the dictates of conscience and the universal law of chivalry, hesitated to kill the wicked Tādakā at the bidding of Viśvāmitra, the latter justifies the killing of a woman, provided it is beneficial to mankind; and as an instance he cites god Visnu's killing Bhrgu's wife, who thought of ridding the world of Indra. Here we find Visnu, the guardian of the world, taking the place of Indra and shielding him from all intrigues and mishaps, while the intriguer is the wife of Bhrgu. Thus it is evident that Valmiki had the legend from some older source-perhaps an old Brahmana or gatha now lostor, perhaps, from some other source than that of the Puranas, wherein Usas figured as the wife of Bhrgu instead of his daughter. But the difference is trivial when we remember that the change in the import of the word 'patni' which, in early Vedic times meant simply a 'protectress' or 'governess' is of subsequent date, and that a corresponding change in mythological outlook was but a foregone conclusion. The legend in the Rāmāyana, therefore, proves, first, that the wife of Bhrgu is none other than Usas; and, secondly, that, notwithstanding certain minor differences, the various versions about the disappearance of that goddess are based on the same Vedic myth.

And lastly, we behold her once more, rising from the Ocean when it was churned by the gods and demons. The episode of the 'Churning of the Ocean' is not only the oldest legend in the epics and the Purānas, but also the grandest and boldest that could be conceived by a poet's fancy. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa unquestionably presents the older version of the story when it says that the divine

विष्णुनापि पुन राम भृगुपत्नी दृढवता ।
अनिन्द्रं लोकमिच्छन्ती काव्यमाता निष्दिता ॥ ^{Ram. I. 25, 22}

enterprise was for the recovery of the lost Srl. The epics, on the other hand, unanimously declare that the chief aim of the gods and demons in that undertaking - perilous even for them-was the acquisition of the Immortal Drink (Amrta). And though they describe the appearance of Śrī or Laksmī in glowing words, they do not connect the event with anything like her past history. According to the Puranic account, the reappearance of Śrī is an event of far greater moment for the gods than the gain of the 'Amrta' as their hearty reception of the goddess followed by an outburst of spontaneous hymn clearly testifies. But this reincarnation of the goddess, and, indeed the whole story of the churning of the Ocean becomes intelligible enough, when we remember that the grand conception underlying it originated with the change in the import of the word 'Samudra' at the close of the Vedic period, and that the post-Vedic poet or poets were capable of preserving the old myths by giving them a new lease of life. It is clear to anyone tolerably acquainted with the Rgveda that the word 'Samudra' denotes there the mid-air-region 1 (antariksa) as well as the terrestrial sea. However, in course of time, like many other Rgvedic words, it became restricted in its import, and stood for one object only. If, therefore, the daughter of Bhrgu, who, as we have already seen, is none other than Usas, vanishes into, and emerges again from, the 'Samudra', it is a change in the theological outlook rather than in the natural phenomenon-a change in the import of word and not in fact. It is not necessary for our purpose to trace here the previous history of the other 'gems', though, on a closer examination, that also may be found, at least in part, to conform to the same mode of explanation as above. 2 The whole episode of 'Samudra-Man-

Compare, for instance, एक: सुवर्ण: स समुद्रमाविवेश etc. B. V. X, 114, 4 also X, 123, 2; where Sayana remarks समुद्रवन्त्यस्मादापः इति समुद्रोडन्तरिक्षम् ।

² Thus it is clear why the moon is reckoned among the fourteen 'gems', if only we remember the change in the meaning of the word 'Samudra'. And the desire-yielding cows (गावः कामद्राः) who rose up from the ocean at the same time can be no other than the माध्यमिका वाक् whose abode is 'antarikṣa', and who manifests herself in the sweet and pure utterances of the wise. That sweet words serve the purpose of man in the highest degree was admitted in early Vedic times and hence 'speech', was said to be a bounteous cow; Compare. चेन्वीगरमान्यसुत्ते । Again, Airāvata, Indra's elephant, is none other than the white cloud that floats in the Antarikṣa. Cf. प्रावृष्ण्यं प्योवाई वियदेशवतावव । Raghu I. 36.

thana' is, indeed, a legend which proves that while Brahmanic ritualism was fast developing in the post-Vedic period, the Brahmanic Muse also was keeping pace along with it. And our only misfortune is that the names of those gifted sons of the Muse who left a rich and considerable heritage to the authors of the Epic and the present $Pur\bar{a}nas$ should have been so easily consigned to oblivion.

And, lastly, Laksmi's union with Visnu amply bears out her Vedic origin and character as traced above by us. That Visnu is the sun at the meridian is a conclusion of Yaska who identifies all the Adityas with the solar deity. When, therebehold the goddess taking refuge with Visuu, the most high and popular of later mythology, we but what is anticipated in the Rgveda, where morning sun is described as chasing Usas-the rosy dawn-like a man who pursues a youthful maiden. As the worthy consort of the chief of the Hindu Trinity, Laksmi has equally risen in dignity and divinity, and now exercises a far greater influence on modern Hindu society than she did in the times of the Vedic Rsis. For there are few high-class Hindu house-holds now-a-days where at least one female-wife or daughter-is not christened with one of her names. Immortal Dawn, in the words of a Vedic poet, disappears only to rise again.

SAMARĀNGANASŪTRADHĀRA AND YUKTIKALPATARU.

Whether these works are productions of one and the same king Bhoja of Dhārā Nagarī.

BY

P. A. Mankad

(N.B. समराङ्गण and युक्ति are abbreviations for समराङ्गणस्त्रधार and युक्तिकल्पतरु.)

1 In the foreword to युक्तिस्ट्यतंस्, Mr. Narendranath Law writes—"The evidence brought together by the learned Editor (Pandita Ishvara Chandra Sastri) in the preface, points to the 11th. century A. D. as the probable and generally accepted time of its composition, and to its reputed author, King Bhoja, to be no other than the Bhoja Parmāra of ldhārā". Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṇapati Sastri, in his preface to समाङ्ग्यस्यार Part I, says that the author of the work as mentioned in it is Mahārajādhirāja Srī Bhoja Deva who is probably the same Bhoja of Dhārā who ruled over Malwa in the 1st part of the 11th century, A. D. and to whom many important works are ascribed, such as गुङ्गारमदाहाइ, सरस्वतीकण्डाभरण etc.

In the preface of the same work, Part II, he says "The Subject matter being शिल्प, the work need not possess the characteristics of a literary work. Nevertheless, it is remarkable for its sweet and simple Kāvya style. It is for this reason, that I said in the 1st volume that the author of the work is the same King Bhoja of Dhārā who wrote शृङ्गारमञ्ज्ञक and other works, and to whom is ascribed a high place in the domain of साहित्य."

2 It would, thus, appear that both the editors are unanimous as regards the fixing of authorship on one and the same individual, viz. King Bhoja of Dhārā Nagarī. The former adduces exhaustive evidence from extraneous materials, while the latter is content only with the solitary internal factor—sweet and simple kāvya style, and colophons, besides, perhaps.

- 3 Now, यक्ति o is composed by भोजराज, while समराङ्गण o is the product of महाराजाधिराजश्रीभोजदेव. युक्ति has references, in the body of the work to wim and wimea. as is clear from various extracts interspersed in the book itself. This very fact shows that some other भोज and भोजदेव were authors of works treating of subjects dealt with in gas. (It may be pointed out, by the bye, that none of the extracts of भोज and भोजदेव in एकि has been found in समराक्रण°.) Further, one comes across a writer by name भोजराज vide Pages 78, 178, 199 of the 3rd part (क्रियापाद) of ईशानशिवसुरुदेव-पदात, of the Travancore Sanskrit Series; Dr. Rajendralal Mitter, moreover, in his "Antiquities of Orissa" mentions as many as a dozen or more Bhojas who have flourished from the Vedic times downwards to the 12th century A. D. The majority of them, if not all, were reported to be not only patrons of literature, but to be, themselves, endowed with literary abilities of a very high order. This problem of authorship, when viewed from the point of so many Bhojas assumes a complicated aspect.
- 4. Unless the learned editors have been in possession of materials to definitely lead them to the conclusion that the same King Bhoja was the author of the works, I venture to hold that mere mention of the name Bhoja or of works grad and antique, in works of other writers, could not be the conclusive warrant for the statement advanced by the editors. I regret, I am not in possession of the reasons which have prompted them to reach the conclusions they have arrived at. I, for my part, have tried to study comparatively the works under reference from the internal evidence alone and have mainly confined myself to the position which bears on are and fare more than anything else.
- 5 a To start with, let the benedic ory stanzas speak for themselves—

कंसानन्द्मकुर्वाणः कंसानन्दं करोति यः

तं देववृन्देराराध्यमनाराध्यमहं भजे ॥ २ ॥ in युक्ति and देवः स पातु भुवनत्रयसूत्रधारस्त्वां बालचन्द्र कलिकाङ्कितज्दकोटिः etc. in समराङ्गण .

These, by themselves, tend, though to a very slight degree, to justify the position I have undertaken to emphasize, in as

6 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

much as the author in the one (युक्ति॰) distinctly displays a leaning towards रूजा (विष्णु) while that in the other (समसङ्खा॰) towards जिल्.

- b Colophons -- युक्ति o has, at the end of every युक्ति, " इात भोज-राजीये युक्तिकल्पतरी नगरी युक्तिः", and, at the close of the book, the colophon runs as " इति श्रीमहाराजभोजराजिनिचेतो सुक्तिकल्पतरः समाभः" The colophon in समराङ्गण at the end of every अध्याय runs as श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीभोजदेवविरचिते समराङ्गण ° etc.'' These " इति colophons, too, are suggestive. The author of une only a महाराजभोजराज, while that of समराङ्गण o is a personality with higher attributes, महाराजाधिराजभीजदेव. If these colophons, were really meant to signify what they actually connote, the only feasible inference would be that भोजराज when merely a महाराजा composed द्धक्ति " while समराङ्गण " came to be composed later on, in the height of his glory, when he had become महाराजाधिराजभोजदेव. In these days, we are quite familiar with instances of assumption of successive appellations such as महाराजा, महाराजाधिराज, राजाप, दवर्षि, देव etc. by individuals in their different stages of life and thus महाराजभोजराज and महाराजाधिराजभोजदेव, may, for aught one can say, apply to one and the same person, as one advances in material and intellectual prosperity; and on this very account, I will dismiss these colophons, too. The author of your makes a direct mention of the names, both of himself and his work (the benedictory verses on the 1st page are closely followed by a werse तन्ते भोजन्यतिधीककल्पतरं मुदे), while the author of समराङ्गण ° is very modest in as much as he remains quite silent in this respect.
- c The treatment of subjects in समराङ्गण follows the Pauranik method, in as much as the subject matter is dealt with in the form of a dialogue between विश्वकर्मन् (the first and foremost exponent of Architecture, especially of the नागर school) and his disciples. The manner of treatment in युक्ति is not so.
- d Further, पक्ति and मराज्ञण , both, have प्रभ् इत generally; only the closing verses which sum up the contents, of every अध्याय in the latter are mostly composed of समस्तs of more than 8 syllables in a पाद while पुक्ति on the contrary, is interspersed in the body of प्रक्रिs throughout, with longer verses.

Vide Page	s	Verses			
47		328			
50		34 8			
63		454			
78			91		
80			4		
82		20	to 22		
87		61	to 67		
90		90	to 93		
91		101			
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.		

- 6. The benedictory stanzas, colophons, mention or absence of names of authors and works, after the opening verses, as also the justification or otherwise of the names assigned to the worksthese, in combination, if not singly, may assist one in the work of differentiation of authorship to a certain extent, though not so much as the substantial internal evidence which follows and which, I presume, will lead one to the irresistible conclusion as regards the non-identity of authorship of these two works. For a positive assertion that the one or the other was the King Bhoja of पारानगरी, internal evidence is totally wanting in both. All the same, there is no doubt that समराञ्चल is the product of the King Bhoja of पारानगरी.
- Turn to any domain of knowledge, say Poetry, Literature, Science etc. and one is sure to be impressed by this personal stamp. This is, moreover, prominently brought out in works, especially when they have emanated from one and the same author. Plays of Shakespeare, novels of Walter Scott, writings of Kālidāsa etc. will bear out, on comparative study, the above statement in a marked manner. Such a characteristic feature is manifested in a variety of ways—common words and set phrases, similarity of ideas, the diction etc. It is only when one fails to recognize any of these common traits of language and ideas, in works which are ordinarily ascribed to the same author, that one has, perforce, to set about thinking as to the real authorship of these works. When the above test is applied to wanter?

and gae, the conclusions are in favour of the contention that these productions cannot be of one and the same individual—King Bhoja of Dhārā.

a Single words.— युक्ति o displays an unusual though distinct terminology of technical words which has no place in समराङ्गण o. I append them in parallel columns for easy verification.

0

युक्ति °	;	समराङ्गण			
इन्द (a fortress)	Not to be found, but	दुर्ग			
	is used instead.	•			
प्राचीर (an enclosure)	ditto	प्राकार			
प्रस्थ (broad)	9;	विस्तृत			
प्रसर (breadth)	**	विस्तार			
आचात (an objectionable	•				
combination)	00\011	वेध			
बार्टा (a plan)	3 (100,00)	वास्तु			
खड्ढा (a bedstead)	Ang M	शय्या			
ज्युपधान (a head piece of	NIV.				
of a bedstead)		ईशा			
निरूपक (a foot piece					
of a bedstead)	उत्पल				
आलिङ्गन (a side piece of					
a bedstead)) 1				
चरण	27	पाद			
पकोष्ट (a room near the					
gate of a palace) ,,				
राजपात्र राजपीठ (V. 410)	**				
राजहस्त । (v. 410)	"				
राजदण्ड	· 13				
राजकाण्ड Measur	es of				
राजपुरुष } lengt राजछत्र	h "				
राजप्रधानी)) 1•				
राजक्षेत्र	79				
Names of 16 kinds of	ागरी ,,				
Names of 8 kinds of बा	स्तु ,,				
Names of 18 kinds of a	ाटी ,				
a kind of यहपञ्चक (मङ्गळ, कमलक,					
सर्वतोभद्र, कल्याण and स्वय	Ę) ,,				

युक्ति°

समराङ्गण°

Names of 12 kinds of राजग्रह Not to be found राजद्वार, अपद्वार, यमद्वार ,,
भूक्षार ,,
चषक ,,
फालम्बा ,,

etc.

etc.

etc.

While the above words are profusely used in युक्ति°, most of them, if not all, are conspicuous by their total absence in समराङ्गण°. Moreover, one whole chapter is devoted, in the latter, to an exposition of definitions of technical words and yet it is surprising to note that the definitions of प्राचीर, राजहस्त, राजछत्र, राजदण्ड, राजकाण्ड राजपुरुष, राजप्रधानी, राजक्षेत्र, राजदार, अपदार, यमदार, पिण्ड, व्युपधान, निरूपक, आलिङ्गन, उपकरण, भूङ्गार, चषक, राजपात्र, राजपीठ, यान, (चतुष्पद, दिपद, विपद, बहुपाद, विमान), आसन (86. 87.88), छत्र (447) तन्तु, सूत्र, ग्रण, पाञ, राइम, रज्ज (450-451) केषिय P. 81 V. 19 etc. etc. which are given in युक्ति° are absolutely wanting therein. युक्ति° has पदाघात. पथाघःत etc. whereas समराङ्गण° has दारवेध, मागवध etc. Similarly महादुर्ग, पङ्कर्ग, पावतीयदुर्ग, बनदुर्ग, अब्दुर्ग of the latter are replaced by जलद्दन्द, पर्वतद्दन्द, नदीवन्द, वनदन्द, यनुर्द्वन्द, मनुष्यदन्द etc. in युक्ति°.

b Set phrases.— To illustrate, the expressions which are very current in युक्ति o are rarely met with in समराङ्गण o; I append parallel phrases— the most common combination for length and breadth.

युक्ति॰ has आयाम-परिणाह दैर्घ्य-प्रसर दीर्घ-प्रस्थ while समराङ्गण° has आयाम-विस्तार दैर्घ्य-पृथुत्व आयाम-पृथुत्व

Turn to any description where length and breadth are concerned and you will find that युक्ति will invariably show आयाम-परिणाह, while for the same meaning, समराङ्गण has different expressions.

युक्ति has hardly 350 verses bearing on गरी and नास्तु in comparison with समराङ्गण which is several times bigger than युक्ति in this respect, and yet, even in that small compass, the ordinary combination for length and breadth—आयाम-परिणाह occurs as many as 14 times. देध्य-मसर and दिर्ध-प्रस्थ as many as 12 times and आयाम-प्रसार twice in युक्ति , whereas the same combination

आयाम-परिणाह scarcely finds a place in समराङ्गण ; पश्चिगह is used only 3 times and that, too, in a sense rather different from the one pointed out above, while पस्तर and प्रश्य are never used in such a combination at all, in समराङ्गण °.

Similarity or otherwise of ideas.—समगङ्गण o treats of बास्त for the ordinary run of the populace as well as for higher personages, culminating in the residential seats etc. for divinities. cludes principles of design and many cognate subjects at great length. It is as exhaustive in the treatment of the subject matter वास्त in its various aspects, as it is logical in its method of handling it. As such, it deserves rightly to be styled a standard work in the नागर school of Indian Architecture युक्ति in comparison with the above, is merely a specialized epitome of a certain section of बास्त. It, all the same, covers an extra ground in that it includes in its treatment, all the paraphernalia of royalty, such as the appendages of a King (दण्ड, चामर, अम्बुपात्र, etc. सिंहासन, छन), his ornaments (various kinds of ফলs) হাজ, সজা, horses, elephants. bulls, animals of draught and conveyances, ships etc. etc. युक्ति o is thus, restricted in its treatment of the principles of बास्त ; and yet, withal, it is, as its name implies, really a source so for as its uns go. Each page bristles with some unusual or original conception, not commonly met with in समराङ्गण o an exhaustive and all embracing work on बास्त.

I append hereunder a number of these ideas-

c 1 Various are the considerations that go to guide the selection of a site for buildings, townships etc.; one of them is एउन, declination or "lie of the ground site". This एउन, it may be stated, may be in one direction, or it may be concurrent in two or more directions. The form which the consideration of this problem assumes, becomes the more complex, the more directions are involved in it. One generalization, however, emerges from these considerations re. एउन and it is that a direction ranging anywhere between North and East is acceptable for the selection of a site for buildings. समस्मान equally with many other works on बारह mentions this aspect of एउन in a more or less detailed manner. The only correspondence that has been established in that work has reference to the slope of the site, and the direction

in general (without any reference to an extra element) in which it runs. बाक, on the other hand, introduces a third and unique element in this consideration. This third element is जन्मल्यादिक over and above the slope and general direction of run of the site. The introduction of this extra element is a deviation from the general rule so far as बारन of राजयह is concerned. All the same, the absence of this phase of रजन in an exhaustive treatise like समराकृष्ण, wherein, by the bye, two exclusive chapters dealing with Royal Palaces, over and above general specifications scattered in several chapters in the body of the book have been introduced, cannot but be striking and thought provoking.

Books on and in their earlier portions begin with a description of units of measurements which vary with the nature of the वास्त. Measures of all kinds required for the smallest वास्तु e. g. bedsteads, सिंहासनं mouldings, ornaments etc., to the largest e. g. streets, townships, highways across the country etc. are prescribed at great length in समगङ्गण . These measures start from the lowest basic unit i. e. a very minute particle of dust floating in the air, and rise, in gradational series, eventually to the highest योजन etc. Such an all embracing nature of these tables notwithstanding, it is really surprising to notice that a kind of measurement used in the design of several Royal Appendages, and defined in grano has not even been hinted at in समराङ्गण°. This system of measurement is allied to the decimal system used for Scientific purposes, as each succeeding measure in this system forms a multiple of ten with regard to the one preceding it. This table of measures is appended hereunder for facility of reference.

= 0	हस्तइ	of	a	king	make	one	राजहस्त
10	राजहस्त	s	one	राजदण्ड			
10	राजदण्ड	s	,,	one	राजछत्र		
10	राजछत्र	s			**	one	राजकाण्ड
10	राजकाण	3 S			,,	one	राजपुरुष
10	राजपुरुष	īs			11	one	राजप्रधानी
1.0	राजप्रध	मीइ			,,	one	राजक्षेत्र.

- c 3 Similarly, there is another table of measures where n 9 takes the place of 10 as under--
 - 9 तन्त्रs make one सूत्र
 - 9 स्त्रs " one गुण
 - 9 **गुण**s ,, one पाश
 - 9 पाहाड ,, one रिम
 - 9 राइमंड .. one रज्ज.

It would be tiresome if I were to jot down in details all the uncommon ideas. I shall, therefore, content myself with a bare enumeration of some of them.

- c 4 Division of नगरी into 16 kinds with its terminology in accordance with their dimensions measured by राजक्षेत्र.
- c 5 Determination of the dimensions of a पट्टनम् from the जन्मलग्न of a King.
- c 6 Specification for a locality fit for वास्तुकर्म and the exceptions thereto in the case of गृहपञ्चक.
- c 7 Determination of 8 kinds of बास्तु when measured by राजकाण्ड.
- c 8 Division of बार्टा (बास्तु) into 18 kinds as derived from a formula length \times breadth, including their effects on occupants.
- c 9 Correspondence between तिथि and the fixation of cardinal points of a यह.
- c 10 Functions of three doorways राजद्वार, यमद्वार, and अपद्वार in a राजयह and the varying distances of प्राचीर in the case of each.
- c 11 12 Kinds of राजगृह determined from मेपादिचन्द्र at the times of birth of kings, their names, dimensions, अधिदेवता, (ग्रह) the number of doorways with varying colours of आइतानि, and houses covered by पट्ट of different colours, suitable for every one of them.
- c 12 Disposition of minerals on the top of houses to ward off evil influences, even death.
- c 13 Adjustments of measurements for 8 pieces of timber in खट्टा of 8 kinds from सर्वभोड शिका to सर्विश्वतिका, including their names.
 - c 14 प्राचीर— its numbers in राजगृह and dimensions.

8 The non-existence of ideas expressed above could not be made to construe that the author of समराङ्गण o was not aware at least of some, if not all. Verses 9 and 10, page 62, Part I अनया युक्तवा कर्तव्यम् etc.

The author may have ignored them or rather thought it insignificant, on account of rare usage etc, for incorporation of them in a standard work. The author of gias, on the other hand, has made the most of them, as he includes them in the gas which form the products of a करपतर.

It stands to reason to assume that one or two view points could be left out of consideration from a standard treatise as **समराक्षण**° is. When, however, a host of views on diverse matters is conspicuous by its absence, the question of penmenship assumes an unusual character.

- 9 Now, the last and at the same time, the most unrefutable factor in deciding the authorship—The Contrast in Specifications—
- a युक्ति sanctions वैशास, श्रावण, आषाढ, मार्ग, फाल्युन and कार्तिक months as acceptable for starting the construction of houses. vide. V. 212.

वैशाखश्रावणाषाढमार्गफाल्गुनकार्तिकाः सुप्रशस्ता गृहारम्भे पत्नीपुत्रसमृद्धिदाः ॥

समाञ्चण on the other hand, lays down that in this respect, आवाद and कार्तिक bring down destruction of beasts and servants respectively to occupants of such houses. Vide verses 6 and 7, page 246, Part I.

चैत्रे शोककरं वेश्म, ज्येष्टे मृत्युप्रदायकं। पशुनाशनमाषाढे, शून्यं भाद्रपदे कृतस्॥६॥ आश्विने कछहाय स्यात् कार्तिके मृत्युनाशनस्। माघे चाछि॥ ७॥

b Certain kinds of trees are considered as objectionable in the vicinity of Royal Palaces, temples, and dwelling houses in townships. The following verses describe them and it will be found that दाहिसी is included in the list of trees as being not acceptable in समराङ्गण. Verses 130-131, page 255, Part I.

कटुकण्टिकदुर्गान्धगुह्यकायाश्रयात् दुमान्। न धारयेत् समीपस्थात् पुरमासादवेश्मनाम् ॥ १३०॥ बदरी कदली चैव दाडिमी बीजपूरिका । मरोहिन्तं गृहे यत्र, तद् गृहं न मरोहिति॥ १३१॥

7 [Annals, B. O, R. L.]

युक्ति॰ on the contrary, prescribes this very दाहिमी as a bringer of prosperity—

यत्र यत्र स्थिता वृक्षा, बिल्वदाडिमेकशराः ॥ ३२३ ॥
पनसा नारिकेलाश्च शुभं कुर्वन्ति निश्चयं ।
निशा नीली पलाशश्च चिश्चा श्वेतापराजिता ॥ ३२४ ॥
ट समराङ्गण Part I, page 67 Verses 19-20-21.
कर्णिकारधवण्लक्षकापित्थविषमच्छदाः ।
शिरीषोदुम्बराश्वत्थशेलुन्यग्रोधचम्पकाः ॥ १९ ॥
निम्बाम्रकोविदाराक्षव्याधिघाताश्च गर्हिताः ।
गृहकर्मणि नेष्टास्ते यतस्तेऽनिष्टदायिनः ॥ २० ॥
नेष्टाः कण्टाकिनः स्वादुफलाः क्षीरद्वमाश्चयं ।
सगन्धयश्च ये तद्वद धवं तेष पशक्षयः ॥ २१ ॥

Again-- Ibid. page 154 Verse, 5.

गृहकर्माणे येनेष्टा वृक्षास्तेऽत्रापि निन्दिताः॥

समराङ्गण°, it will be clear from the above, specifies certain trees as unfit for building materials, (यहकर्माण नेष्टास्ते). Further, while specifying the usefulness or otherwise of different kinds of timber for शयन (bedstead), आसन (seat) etc. the author of समराज्या o adds that whatever timber is undesirable as a building material is equally so, so far as those articles of furniture are concerned. निम्ब is one of the trees included in the above list as unsuitable for building purposes. Evidently, therefore, it cannot be accepted as a useful material for the articles of furniture mentioned above. Moreover, the use of निम्ब tree which is unsuitable for ordinary आसन even, should be absolutely prohibited according to समराङ्गण ° in the construction of सिंहासन, as the latter forms a specialized kind of आसन. युक्ति°, on the contrary, prescribes this very (गर्हा) objectionable material for use in one of the 8 kinds of सिंहासन. and attributes to that timber, besides, the property of bestowing on the user, Prosperity, Victory, Wealth and Health. Verses 372 to 374, page 53 युक्ति are quoted as under,

निम्बकाष्टनेघटना भृद्धमालोपशोभितम् ॥ ३७२ ॥ इन्द्रनीलमहानीलैः कश्चिनेनापि चिश्रितम् । चरणाग्रे मृगशिरश्चत्वारिशच पुत्रिकाः ॥ ३७३ ॥ नीलंबस्रादि युक्तं च मृगसिंहासनं मतम् । छक्ष्मीविजयसंपत्तिनेकण्यं ग्रुपदमुसमम् ॥ ६७४ ॥

Not only is yano thus very positive (Verses 377 and 378) in specifications but, also, it does not brook any the slightest deviation whatsoever from its prescriptions except on penalty of death.

d In the design of any वास्त, its dimensions-viz, length. breadth and height or thickness, are arrived at after due adjustments made in accordance with certain principles laid down for it. These principles are embodied in the form of certain relations or formulas which constitute the अङ्गड of a बास्त. In this connection, be it noted that the choice of dimensions is deemed most happy when it (बास्तु) secures the greatest satisfaction of these relations. The greater the agreement of these relations it secures, the closer it approximates to an ideal stage dimensionally. These अङ्गड are आय, व्यय, नक्षत्र, अंशक, तारा etc. Their number varies with different writers, the maximum reaching as high as 27. It is not the purpose here to enter into the details of these formulas and the rules to be observed thereunder, except for a certain arithmetical technicality in their derivations. आयs are 8 in number, determined by remainders in the division of length × breadth

8

Similarly, auds are also 8 obtained by remainders of the division of ন্ধ্ৰ

নহাৰs are 27 determined in the same way, from remainders in length \times breadth \times 8

27.

Remainders in <u>व्यय + क्षेत्रफल + गृहनामाक्षराणि</u> give 3 अंशकाः and so

forth, for 9 aims where the divisor is 9.

It may be pointed out that in a division, the remainders can never equal, but should invariably be less by one than the divisor. Thus the आयं, ज्ययं, नश्चं, अंशकं and तारां could never be 8, 8, 27, 3 and 9 (equal to the divisors in each case) but should be one less viz. 7, 7, 26, 2 and 8, though really they are not so. An anomaly such as this is common not only to समराङ्ग्ण but many other books on बास्त also. It is, strange, however, that यक्ति is free from this anomaly, e. g. 18 kinds of बारों in that work are derived from 18 remainders left out of length × breadth the

divisor being one more than the kinds of बाटी.

e Divergence in specifications as to the number of doorways in राजयह is so wide that there could be no reconciliation in the view points of both युक्ति and समराङ्गण . युक्ति page 38 lays down,

नैकद्वारं वास्तुखण्डं न चतुर्द्वारमारभेत्। एकद्वारं दुःसरणं, चतुर्द्वारं दुरापहम्॥ २२७॥ त्रिद्वारमेव चृपतेर्वास्तुकर्म प्रशस्यते। द्वे मुख्ये तत्र चान्यत्स्यादमुख्यमिति निर्णयः॥ २२८॥

समराष्ट्रण o, on the other hand, in अध्याय 30th which treats of राजग्रह in details, prescribes 4 doorways in various palaces described therein. e. g.

पृथिवींजय-Verse 6 द्वाराणि चास्य चन्वारि etc.

स्ककोण-Verse 42 पृथ्वीजयवद्त्रापि शेषनिर्माणामिष्यते ।

सर्वतोभद्र-Verse 57 दिश्च सर्वास्वयं प्रोक्तो विधिर्भद्रप्रकल्पने ॥

क्षोणीश्वण-Verse 98 चतुर्द्वारिमिदं कार्ये यशः श्रीकीर्तिवर्धनम् ॥

कक्ष्मीविल्लास-Verse 117 चतुर्द्वार भवदेतेदिन्छ्या क्षणमध्यगम् ।

द्वारमन्यद् विधातन्यं स्वपदे स्यात् स्रुशोभितम् ॥

- 10 The above illustrations of divergent specifications, it is believed, are sufficient to show the non-identity of authors. If the authors of yare and unique were one and the same individual, it would be wellnigh impossible to reconcile such diametrically opposite prescriptions. It is as plain as anything that one and the same person would never dictate in one and the same breadth, specifications conflicting one with the other in such a marked manner. Under the circumnstances, no room is left but to accept the contention of different Bhojas as authors of warner.
- 11 To sum up, the opening verses, colophons, manner and method of treatment, dissimilarity in language as revealed by non-existence of several words and set phrases, and in ideas, by the total absence of certain conceptions, in some places, and complete divergence in others—all these peculiarities both in the subject matter and method of treatment—go to prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the works have emanated from different individuals and that if one of these is the product of King Bhoja of untend, the other can never be his.

FURTHER LIGHT ON RĀVANA'S LANKĀ LOCATED IN CENTRAL INDIA FROM VĀLMĪKI'S RĀMĀYANA

BY

M. V. KIBE, M. A.

T

In a paper of mine read before the XVII International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford, I have given mileage of the distance between Citrakūta and Kiskindhā as 98.

Thus four Yojanas as stated in Aranyakānda (3) Sarga 11 Ślokas 38 and 39 were interlocated by me as 32 miles, and three Krosas in Aranyakānda Sarga 5 śloka 69 as 6 miles. I did so in other places too.

The above mileage can be tested from the distance between two known places viz. the Gangā at its junction with Yamunā at Allahabad and the Citrakūta Mountain situated in the Banda District of the United Provinces in the North-west or West of Allahabad.

In Ayodhyākānda (2) Sarga 54 and Ślokas 28 and 29 Bhāradvāja whose hermitage was on the junction on the Gangā and Yamunā informs Rāma that 10 Krośas from there was situated the mountain Citrakūta where he should stay. Thus:—

दशकोश इतस्तात गिरिर्यस्मिन्निवत्स्यसि ।

चित्रकूट इति स्यातो

In the next Sarga in Ślokas 4 to 6 he gives further directions for reaching the place. He says that from the junction of the two Rivers, the Ganges and Yamunā, they should follow the latter upwards from its mouth and having reached an old landing place they should cross it by making a boat and reach a big Nyagrodha tree which has big leafy branches and after having gone only a Krosa further, they will see a blue forest. Thus:—

कोशमात्रं ततो गत्वा नीलं द्रक्ष्यथ काननम् ॥

Tne Muni Bhāradvāja also adds in the Śloka 9 that he has been often over this road to Citrakūţa. Thus:—

स पन्थाश्चित्रकूटस्य गतः सुबहुशो मया ॥

Accordingly Rama made a boat and baving put Sita on it first, crossed the river (Ślokas 18 and 19). Thus:—

प्रवे... रामश्चके सहायुधैः । आरोप्य प्रथमं सीतां... ॥ ततः प्रतेरतुर्युक्ती पीतौ दशरथात्मजौ ।

Having done so they went a distance of one Krośa, they wandered in the forest of Yamunā, evidently this being the same place which is mentioned in Śloka 8 (supra) and Śloka 33. Thus:-

... ...कोशमात्रं ततो गत्वा भ्रातरी रामछक्ष्मणी ॥ बहून मेण्यान् मृगान् हत्वा चेरतुर्यमुनावने

Later when Bharata came with his army in the wake of Rāma to the hermitage of Bhāradvāja and asked for the whereabouts of the former, he pointed out that three and half Yojanas from there was the Citrakūta Mountain where Rāma was staying. As Bharata was accompanied by a big retinue Bhāradvāja pointed out to him another route but the distance although mentioned in two different methods of calculating it, viz. Krośas and Yojanas, 10 Krośas (i. e. 20 miles) are almost equal to 3½ Yojanas (i. e. about 9 Krośas), having regard to perhaps different places for crossing the river (Yamunā) as the route pointed out is to the South or South-west (Sarga 92, Ślokas 10, 11, 13, and 14). Thus:-

भरतार्धतृतीयेषु योजनेष्वजने वने । चित्रकूटो गिरिस्तत्र ॥ १०॥

उत्तरं पार्श्वमासाय तस्य मन्दाकिनी नदी ।.....।। ११॥ दक्षिणेन एव मार्गेण सन्यदक्षिणमेव वा । गजवाजिरथाकीणां वाहिनीं वाहिनीपते ॥ १३॥ वाहयस्व महाभाग ततो द्रक्ष्यसि राघवम् ।.....॥ १४॥

Having followed this direction Bharata came to the vicinity of Citrakūṭa and said to his chief adviser that the place pointed out by Bhāradvāja had been reached (Sarga 93, and Ślokas 6, 7 and 8). Thus:—

... ... उवाच भरतः श्रीमान् विशष्टं मन्त्रिणां वरम् ॥ ६ ॥
... ... व्यक्तं प्राप्ताः स्म तं देशं भारद्वाजो यमब्रवीत् ॥ ७ ॥
अयं गिरिश्चित्रकूट इयं मन्दािकनी नदी ।
एतत्प्रकाशते द्राञ्चीलभेघनिमं वनम् ॥ ८ ॥

The description of the bluish forest has reference to what was stated in Sarga 55, Śloka 8 supra. Now the shortest distance between the bank of the Yamunā and Citrakūṭa is between 20 and 30 miles, although it is 80 miles by rail from the junctions of the two rivers.

This test should leave no doubt as regards the distance between Citrakūṭa and Kiṣkindhā as calculated by me in my last paper.

II

In the 32nd Sarga of Aranyakānda (4) it is stated that when Sūrpaņakhā saw Triśiras, Khara and Dūṣaṇa with their army killed by Rāma singly, filled with grief she went to Lankā, protected by Rāvaṇa, from Dandakāraṇya, (Sloka 3). Thus:—

जगाम परमोद्विया छङ्कां रावणपाछिताम् ॥ ३॥

Then Rāvaṇa went to the stables, asked his charioteer to yoke the mules who did it in a moment and in his golden chariot came to the ocean. (Sarga 35, Ślokas 4, 5, 6 and 7). Thus:—

यानज्ञालां ततो गत्वा पुच्छन्नो राक्षसाथियः।
सूतं संचोदयामास रथः संयोज्यतामिति॥ ॥ ॥

एवमुक्तः क्षणेनैव सारथिर्रुघुविक्रमः ।
रथं संयोजयामास तस्याभिमतमुत्तमम् ॥ ५॥
काञ्चनं रथमास्थाय कामगं रत्नभूषितम् ।
... ६॥
...

राक्षसाधिपतिः श्रीमान् ययौ नद्नदीपतीम् ॥ ७॥

He then crossed the sea and in a lovely and beautiful place in the forest saw the Rākṣasa named Mārīca (Sarga Ibid Ślokas 37 and 38). Thus:—

तं तु गत्वा परं पारं समुद्रस्य नदीपतेः ।
ददर्शाश्रममेकान्ते रम्ये पुण्ये वनान्तरे ॥ ३७ ॥
...
ददर्श नियताहारं मारीचं नाम राक्षसम् ॥ ३८ ॥

Rāvaņa induced Mārīca to accompany him on his chariot to the place where Rāma was staying to decoy Sītā (Sarga 42, Ślokas 7, 8, 9 and 11). Thus:—

आरुद्यतामयं शिघं खगो रत्नविभूषितः ।...॥ ७॥ प्रलोभियत्वा वेदेहीं यथेष्टं गन्तुमईसि ।...॥ ८॥ ततो रावणमारीचो विमानमिव तं रथम् । आरुद्य ययतुः शीघं तस्मादाश्रममण्डलात् ॥ ९॥ ॥ १०॥

समेत्य दण्डकारण्यं राघवस्याश्रमं ततः । दद्री सहमारीचो रावणी राक्षसाधिषः ॥ ११ ॥

It is noteworthy that it is particularly stated in the passage underlined that from their hermitage (that of Mārīca) they came soon to the place where Rāma had built his cottage.

It appears that while Rāvaṇa came to the place in a chariot, which was destroyed by Jaṭāyu, when the former was taking Sitā away, on his way back he had the use of a sort of a glider (Sarga 67, Ślokas 17 and 20). Thus:—

... ... विष्वंसितरथच्छत्रः ... ॥ १७ ॥ ॥ १८ ॥ ॥ १८ ॥ ॥ १९ ॥ सीतामादाय वैदेहीसुत्पपात विहायसस्...॥ २० ॥ In Kiskindhākāṇḍa (4) Sarga 6, Ślokas 9, 10 and 11 Sugrīva says that he saw Sītā being dragged by Rāvaṇa when seeing him and his followers she threw down on the peak her covering garment and some ornaments. It is however not clear from this nor from a similar description of the manner of her being taken away by Sampāti in Sarga 58 and Śloka 15 whether she was being dragged on earth or by air. Thus:—

ह्रियमाणा मया दृष्टा रक्षसा कूरकर्मणा ॥ ९ ॥
...
उत्तरीयं तया त्यक्तं ॥ ११ ॥
ह्रियमाणा मया दृष्टा रावणेन दुरात्मना ॥ १५ ॥

It will be evident from the above narrative that neither in the journey of Rāvaṇa, with Mārīca, to Janasthāna, where Rāma was staying, nor on his return journey with Sītā, is there any mention of the formidable obstruction of the ocean. On the contrary he seems to have crossed it easily. It clearly appears that he had to use two chariots one to the sea from Lankā and other from the hermitage of Mārīca, which was near to the sea. Araṇyakāṇḍa (3) Sarga 35, Ślokas 37 and 10. Thus:—

तं तु गत्वा परं पारं समुद्रस्य नदीपतेः । ददर्शाश्रममेकान्ते रम्ये पुण्ये वनान्तरे ॥ ३०॥ कामगं रथमास्थाय शुशुभे राक्षसेश्वरः ॥ १०॥

III

Now those who maintain that the the sea or the ocean which surrounded the island of Lankā was in the South of India base their argument on the mention of the names of Mountains Sahya. Malaya and Mahendra, which are well known mountains at the extreme end of the Southern peninsula of India. (Yuddhakānda (6), Sarga 4 Ślokas 73, 74, 95, 96 and 97). Thus:—

But apart from the fact that this lengthy Sarga appears to be later interpolation, there is evidence to show that the Malaya and Mahendra were the names of forts or peaks near Kişkindhā.

In Aranyakānda (3) Sarga 72, Śloka 12, it is stated that Sugrīva had to live on the mountain Rsyamūka which spread up to Pampā, which was a lake (Aranyakānda Sarga 73, Śloka 11). Thus:--

ऋष्यमुके गिरिवरं पम्पापर्यन्तशोभिते ।

and

ततः पुष्करिणीं वीरौ पम्पां नाम गमिष्यथ।

In Kişkindhākāṇḍa (4) Sarga 2 it is stated that seeing Rāma in the neighbourhood of Rṣyamūka (Sarga 1, Śloka 129) Sugrīva and his followers became terrified (Sarga 2, Śloka 1) fearing that Vāli had sent them (Śloka 13). Then Hanumān assured them that the place where they were standing i. e. the hill named Malaya, on which was situated Rṣyamūka, was beyond the pale of Vāli (Śloka 14). Thus:—

तावृष्यम्कस्य समीपचारी चरत्
...
ततस्तं भयसंविग्नं वालिकिल्बिषशाङ्कितम् ।
उवाच हनुमान् वाक्यं सुग्रीवं वाक्यकोविदः ॥
संग्रमस्त्यज्यतामेष सर्वे वालिकृते महान् ।
मलयोऽयं गिरिवरो भयं नेहास्ति वालिनः ॥

That the place mentioned above was in the neighbourhood of Rsyamūka is seen from Sarga 3 Ślokas 1, 2 and 21 to 23. Thus:-

वचो विज्ञाय हनुमान् सुग्रीवस्य महात्मना । पर्वतादृष्यमूकानु पुष्छुवे यत्र राघवौ ॥ १ ॥ प्राप्तोऽहं प्रेषितस्तेन सुग्रीवेण महात्मना । राज्ञा वानरसुख्यानां हनूमान्नाम वानरः ॥ २१ ॥ तस्य मां सचिवं वित्तं वानरं पवनात्मजं... ।ऋष्यमूकादिह प्राप्तं... ... ॥ १२ ॥ Then Hanumān went to Rṣyamūka itself which was the abode of Sugrīva (Aranyakānda (3) sarga 72 Śloka 12 supra), to Mala yagiri from where they had seen Rāma and his brother wandering near Rṣyamūka Kiṣkindhākānda (4), Sarga 5, Śloka 1. Thus:—

ऋष्यमूकातु हनुमान् गत्वा तं मळयं गिरिम्। आचचक्षे तदा वीरौ कपिराजाय राघवौ॥१॥

Vāli, the opponent of Sugrīva, lived at Kiskindhā (Kiskindhā-kāṇda (4) Sarga 11, Sloka 21). Thus:--

वाळी नाम महाप्राज्ञः शक्रतुल्यपराक्रमः। अध्यास्ते वानरः श्रीमान् किष्किन्धामतुलप्रभाम्॥२१॥

This place was at a distance of one Yojana (4 miles) from the hermitage of Matanga (Sarga 11, Ślokas 46, 47 and 48). Thus:—

पपात च महाकायः क्षितौ पञ्चत्वमागतः । तं तोल्लियत्वा बाहुभ्यां गतसत्त्वमचेतनम् ॥ ४६ ॥ चिक्षेप बळवान् वाली वेगेनैकेन योजनम् ।...॥ ४७ ॥ प्रपेतुमारुतोत्क्षिप्ता मतङ्गस्याश्रमे प्रति ।...॥ ४८ ॥

This hermitage of Matanga was at a distance of 12 miles from Janasthāna, where Rāma had lost his wife (Aranyakānda (3) Sarga 69, Ślokas 5 and 8). Thus.

ततःपरं जनस्थानात्त्रिकोशं गम्य राघवा । कोश्चारण्यं विविशतुर्गहनं ती महोजसी ॥ ५ ॥

ततः पूर्वेण तौ गत्वा त्रिकोशं भातरी तदा । कौश्चारण्यमतिकस्य मतङ्गाश्रममन्तरे ॥ ८॥

From Rayamūka Sugrīva was asked to immediately proceed to Kişkindhā (Sarga 12, Ślokas 12 and 14). Thus:--

अस्मद्वच्छेम किष्किन्धां क्षिप्रं गच्छ त्वमग्रतः।...॥ १२॥ सर्वे ते त्वरितं गत्वा किष्किन्धां वालिनः पुरीम् ।...॥ १४॥

Sugrīva was hotly pursued by Vāli upto Malaya forest (Ślokas 22 and 23). Thus:—

वालिनाभिद्रुतः कोधात् प्रविवेश महावनम् ॥ २२ ॥ तं प्रविष्टं वनं द्रष्ट्वा वाली शापभयार्दितः । स निवृत्तो महायुतिः ॥ २३ ॥ Rāma accompanied by Laksmana and Sugrīva went to Kişkindhā from Rṣyamūka. In the way they met a broken grove named Sapta Janasthāna. From here they saw Kişkindhā (Sarga 13, Ślokas 1, 13, 29 and Sarga 14. Śloka 1). Thus:—

ऋष्यमूकात्स धर्मात्मा किष्किन्धां छक्ष्मणाग्रजः । जगाम सह सुग्रीवो वालिविकमपालिताम् ॥ १ ॥

तेषां तु गच्छतां तत्र त्वरितं रघुनन्दनः... ... ते गत्वा दूरमध्वानं तस्मात्सप्तजनाश्रमान् । दृदृञ्जस्तां दुराधर्षां किष्किन्धां वालिपालिताम् ॥ २९ ॥

सर्वे ते त्वरितं गत्वा किष्किन्धां वालिपालिताम् ।...॥ १॥

All this description shows that there was not much distance between Rsyamūka and Kiskindhā. The latter was in a valley (Sarga 27, Śloka 1 and Sarga 26, Śloka 7). Thus:—

अभिषिक्ते तु सुग्रीवे प्रविष्ट वानरे ग्रहाम् ।...।। १ ॥

इमां गिरिगुहां रम्यामभिगन्तुमितोऽईसि ।...॥ ७॥

This is made clear in Sarga 31 Śloka 16, Thus:--तामपश्यद्वलाकीणीं हरिराज महापुरीम् । दुर्गामिक्ष्वाकुशार्दुलः किष्किन्धां गिरिसङ्कृटे ॥ १६ ।।

and Rāma with his brother went to live on the Prasravaņa Mountain (Sarga 27, Śloka 1). Thus:--

... ...आजगाम सह भात्रा रामः प्रस्नवणं गिरिम् ॥ १ ॥

In the neighbourhood also were in the North a peak and in the South a peak named Kailāsa and on the East a river flowing by a peak known as Trikūṭa (Sarga 27, Ślokas 14, 15, 16, 26 and 27). Thus:—

 गीतवादित्रनिर्घोषः श्रूयते जयतां... ... । नर्दतां वानराणां च मृदङ्गाडम्बरैः सह ॥ २७ ॥

Besides Kiskindhā there were other forts on the mountain (Sarga 19, Ślokas 14 and 15). Thus:--

रक्ष्यतां नगरद्वारमङ्गदृश्वाभिषिच्यताम् ।...। १४॥

आविशन्ति हि दुर्गाणि क्षिप्रमन्यानि वान्राः॥ १५॥

During this time Rāma lived on a peak of Prasravana mountain which was known as Mālyavat (Sarga 27, Ślokas 1 and 29 and Sarga 28, Śloka 1). Thus:—

अभिषिक्ते तु सुग्रीवे प्रविष्टे वानरे गुहास् । आजगाम सह भाता रामः प्रश्नवणं गिरिस् ॥ १ ॥

इत्युक्त्वा न्यवसत्तत्र राघवः सह छक्ष्मणः । बहुदृश्यद्शीकुञ्जे तस्मिन् प्रश्नवणे गिरौ ॥ २९ ॥ स तथा वाछिनं हत्वा सुग्रीवमभिषिच्य च । वसन् माल्यवतः पृष्ठे... ॥ १॥

In Kiskindhākāṇḍa (4) Sarga 2 Śloka 14, this Mālyavān is called Malaya. Thus:—

... ...मळयोऽयं गिरिवरो... ... ॥ १४ ॥

That this Prasravana Mountain otherwise known as Malaya, was in sight of Vindhya at the foot of which was the sea, which divided Lankā from the Vindhya range in a valley of which was Kiskindhā is borne out by Sarga 53, Ślokas 12 and 16 Sarga 60 Śloka 6 and Sarga 58, Śloka 34 and Sarga 64, Śloka 2. Thus:—

एष विन्ध्यो गिरिः श्रीमान्नानाद्रुमछताकुछः। एष प्रस्नवणः देशिः सागरोऽयं महोद्धिः॥१२॥

विन्ध्यस्य तु गिरेः पादे संप्रपुष्पितपाद्पे । उपविश्य महान्मानश्चिन्तामापेदिरे तदा ॥ १६ ॥ अस्य विन्ध्यस्य शिखरे पतितोऽस्मि पुरा ह्ययम्...॥ ६ ॥

समुद्रं नेतुमिच्छामि भवद्भिर्वरुणाख्यम् ॥ ३४ ॥ संपातेः वचनं श्रुत्वा हरयो रावणश्चयम् । दृष्टा सागरमाजग्मुः सीताद्र्शनकाङ्क्षिणः ॥ २ ॥ So when Hanumān, who was among the above army made his mind to cross the ocean, he observed that the ground below his feet being soft will not be able to bear the repurcursion of his leap (Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa (4) Sarga 67, Śloka 37). Thus:—

नेथं मम मही वेगं छङ्घने धारयिष्यति ।...॥ ३७॥

So he pointed out to the peaks of Mahendra Mountain as firm enough to bear his burden and ascended one of them (Sarga 67. Ślokas 38 and 41). Thus:—

शिखराणि महेन्द्रस्य स्थिराणि च महान्ति च। एषु वेगं करिष्यामि महेन्द्रशिखरेष्वहम् ॥ ३८॥

आरुरोह नगश्रेष्टं महेन्द्रमरिमर्दनः।...॥ ४१॥

This Mahendra was a peak of Vindhya is shown by the narrative in Sarga 63. Śloka 14 and Sarga 64 Ślokas 1 and 2 according to which Sampāti, who was on a peak of the Vindhyas flew away from it followed by Hanumān and others to the banks of the sea. Thus:—

उन्पपात गिरेः ड्राङ्गात् ।... 🗦 📖 १४॥

आख्याता गृथराजेन समुत्पत्य प्छवंगमाः ।...॥ १॥

... इष्टाः सागरमाजग्मुः सीतादर्शनकाङ्क्षिणः ॥ २ ॥

Here as seen later (infra) Rāma ascended the Mahendra.

On his return from Lanka Hanuman and others ascended the peak of Mahendra and leaving it ran to where Rama was. Sundarakanda (Sarga 60, Śloka 13, and Sarga 61 Śloka 2). Thus:--

तस्माद्गच्छाम वै सर्वे यत्र रामः सरुक्ष्मणः ।...॥ १३॥

महेन्द्राग्रं परित्यज्य पुप्लुवुः प्लवगर्षभाः ॥ २॥

Here also came Rāma (Yuddhakānda (6), Sarga 4, Śloka 95 and 96). Thus:—

महेन्द्रमथ संप्राप्य रामो राजीवलोचनः ॥ ९५ ॥ अध्यारोहन्महाबाहुः शिखरं द्रुमभूषितम् ।...॥ ९६ ॥ He came here from Prasravaņa Mountain where Hanumān had reported his success to him (Sundarakāṇḍa (5) Sarga 65, Śloka 1). Thus:—

ततः प्रस्नवणं शैलं ते गत्वा चित्रकाननम् । प्रणम्य शिरसा रामं छक्ष्मणं च महाबलम् ॥ १ ॥

But in this lengthy chapter 4 of Yuddhakānda in which Rāma's journey to the sea and his ascending of Mahendra is described, there appear to have crept in some interpolations, such as in 73, 74, 97 and 98, the meaning of which is also obscure. Ślokas 73 and 74 say that Rāma reached the Sahya and Malaya Mountains, and a river which is full of water or the name of which was Prasravana. Thus:—

सहापर्वतमासेदुर्मलयं च महीधरम् । काननानि विचित्राणि नदीप्रस्रवणानि च ॥ ७ ॥ पर्यत्रभिययौ रामः सहास्य मलयस्य च ।...॥ ७४ ॥

If the latter interpretation is correct then the river might have been named after the mountain on which Rāma was living near Kiṣkindhā, as it might have had its source there. Then Sahya and Malaya appear to be synonyms and Malaya was another name for Prasravana as seen above.

But Ślokas 96 to 100 are not clear. They appear to mean that Rāma had ascended the peak of Mahendra, he saw the sea at a distance but in between were Sahya and Malaya, and having ascended from the peak he crossed a beautiful forest reaching upto the sea coast and said to Sugrīva that they had reached the sea. Thus:—

... ...ततः शिखरमारुख रामो दशरथात्मजः ॥ ९६॥

ते सद्यं समितिकम्य मलयं च महागिरिम् ॥ ९७ ॥ आसेदुरानुपूर्व्येण समुद्रं भीमिनःस्वनम्... ... ॥ अवरुद्यं जगामाञ्ज वेलावनमनुत्तमम् ॥ ९८ ॥

... वेळामासाय विपुळां रामो वचनमब्रदीत् । एते वयमनुप्राप्ताः सुग्रीवस्य वरुणाळयम् ॥ १०० ॥ But the above does not mean that Rāma crossed the mountain ranges named Sahya and Malaya.

Reference has been made to the existence of a mountain known as Trikūţa with a river flowing by to the East of the cave in which Rāma had taken his abode. (Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa (4). Sarga 27, Ślokas 16 and 4). Thus:—

प्राचीनवाहिनीं चैव नदीं भ्रशमकर्दमाम् । गुहायाः पूर्वतः पश्य त्रिकूटे जाह्नवीमिव ॥ १६ ॥ तस्य शैलस्य शिखरे महतीमायतां गुहाम् । प्रत्यमृह्णीत वासार्थं रामः सौमित्रिणा सह ॥ ४ ॥

This Trikūṭa which was observed to the East of Malaya, or Prasravaṇa, with a river between, was in the vicinity of Lankā (Yuddhakāṇḍa (7). Sarga 11, Ślokas 22, 24 and 49 and Sarga 40, Ślokas 2 and 3). Thus:--

त्रिकूटस्थः स तु तदा दशग्रीवो निशाचरः । प्रेषयामास दौत्येन प्रहस्तं वाक्यकोविदं ॥ २२ ॥ इयं छङ्कापुरी राजन् राक्षसानां महात्मनाम्...॥ २४ ॥

IV

That the distance between the North bank and the South bank of the sea dividing the Continent from the Island of Lanka was not great is evident from Yuddhakāṇḍa (6). Sarga 17, Ślokas 1, 9, 10 and Sarga 19 Ślokas 1 and 2). Disregarded by his brother, Rāvaṇa, Bibhiṣaṇa came to the Northern Coast of the Sea, when Rāma had reached the Southern Coast. There he stood on a high ground ("गगनस्थ" and स्वस्थ एव व्यतिष्ठत) and loudly spoke (उवाच स्वरंग महता). Thus:—

... ...आजगाम मुहूर्तेन यत्र रामः सलक्ष्मणः ॥ ॥ ,,, ...गगनस्थं महीस्थास्ते ददृशुर्वानराधिषाः ॥ २ ॥

... ... सिन्नभीषणः। उत्तरं तीरमासाय स्वस्थ एव व्यतिष्ठत ॥ १० ॥ राषवेणाभये दत्ते संनतो रावणानुजः। बिभीषणो महाप्राज्ञो भूमि समवलोकयन् ॥ १ ॥ खान्पतातावनी हृष्टो भक्तरनुचरैः सह। स तु रामस्य धर्मात्मा निपपात बिभीषणः॥ २ ॥

At his instance was built the Setu for crossing the (Sarga 19, Ślokas 32, 33, 39 and 40). Thus:—

... ... एवं बिभीषणेनोक्तो राक्षसेन विपश्चिता ॥ ३२ ॥
... ...ततश्चाख्यातुमारेभे बिभीषणवचः शुभस् ॥ ३३ ॥
...

किमर्थं नी नरव्यात्र न रोचिष्यति राघव । विभीषणेन यबोक्तमस्मिन् काले सुखावहम् ॥ ३९ ॥ अबद्धा सागरे सेतुं घोरेऽस्मिन् वरुणालये । लङ्का नासादितुं शक्या सेन्द्रैः अपि सुरासुरैः । ४० ॥

The above shows that the distance between the two coasts although difficult to be crossed by an army without a bridge, loud conversation between the two could be heard. Moreover, a small party could cross it as Bibhishana did (Sarga 19, Ślokas 2 and 3). Thus:—

खाम्पपातावनीं हृष्टो भक्तैरनुचरैसह । स तु रामस्य धर्मात्मा निपपात बिभीषणः ॥ २ ॥ पादयोः शरणान्वेषी... ... ॥ ३ ॥

When visiting Mārīca Rāvaņa too had crossed it. (Araņya-kāṇḍa (3). Sarga 35, Śloka 37). Thus:--

तं तु गत्वा परं पारं समुद्रस्य नदीपतेः। ददर्शाश्रममेकान्ते रम्ये पुण्ये वनान्तरे॥ ३७॥

Moreover, the bed of the river (exaggerated by poetic imagination into a sea) was mainly without mud (Kişkindhākānḍa (4:). Sarga 27, Śloka 16). Thus:—

प्राचीनताहिनीं चैव नदीं भृशमकर्दमाम् ।...॥ १६॥

9 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

SUMMARY

In my paper on 'Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā discovered' read before the XVII International Congress of Orientalists I had located Laṅkā in the Vindhya Mountain on the description of the route of Rāma to Laṅkā, as given in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. In the present paper I locate it at the same place on the basis of Rāvaṇa's route to Pañcavatī and his subsequent movements.

It is noteworthy that in the Ayodhyākānda Vālmīki gives the distance between Ayodhyā and Citrakūta, both in Krośas and Yojanas, and it tallies exactly with the present location of these two places. It is also noteworthy that against the popular belief that Vālmīki lays stress on the vicinity of Malaya and Sahya to the north bank of the sea which divides Lankā from India, these, as a matter of fact, are only mentioned once in a long Adhyāya in Sundarakānda, which there is reason to suppose, contains many interpolations. On the other hand, Malaya is the name of a fort on a peak of the Vindhya Mountain near Kiṣkindhā. As a matter of fact, Vālmīki in many places insists on the vicinity of Vindhya to Lankā. All these facts and the fact that Rāvaṇa easily came to Pañcavaṭī and Bibhiṣaṇa spoke to the followers of Rāma from the other side of the sea, dividing India and Lankā, lead to the same conclusion as I have arrived in my previous paper. 1

[!] N.B. (1) Important references in Sanskrit quotations have been printed in black type.

N. B. (2) The Edition of Vālmīki Rāmāyana used for the purpose of this article— "Srimad Vālmīki Rāmāyana!" Published by R. Narayanaswami Aiyar, M. A., B. L. Advocate, with the help of an editorial committee consisting of Mahāmahopadhyāya Vidyāvācaspati Daršanakalānidhi Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal, M. A., I. E. S., Mahamahopādhyāya Sāstraratnākara Vedāntavibhūṣaṇa Pandit S. Kriṣna Sastrigal Vedāntavišārada Vedāntavibhūṣaṇa Pandit S. K. Padmanābha Sastrigal and Vedānta Siromaṇi Vedāntavišārada Vedāntalamkāra Pandit T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press Mylapore, Madras, 1933.

MISCELLANEA

ŚRĪHATTA-NĀGARA AND THE ŚRI-GAUDA BRĀNMANAS

By

J. GENDRA UHANDRA GHOSH

The traditions of the Gauda Brāhmanas point to Gauda, in Bengal, as their original home. They are divided into two main sections, viz., the Adi-Gauda, i.e. those who were first to migrate from Gauda, and the Śri-Gauda. In speaking of the origin of the last-named of Gujarāt, the Brāhmanotpatli-mārtanda writes,

Purā Gauda-Brā'ımaṇāś-ca Kāśmīra-deśa-vāsinah II 41 II Apratigrāhiṇah sarve Lakṣmī-śāpena brikṣukāḥ II Jātāḥ Śrīh tṭṭa-nagarān-nirgutāś-ca diśo-daśa II 42 II Mālave ca gatāḥ kecin-Marudhanve tothā'pare II Śrī-Gauda iti yan-nām i-grāma-Śrī-kāra-yogatah II 43 II (pp. 433-431).

i. e. "In ancient time the Gauda Brāhmanas were the residents of the country of Kāśmīra. They were all non-acceptors of gift and were turned to beggars, through the curse of the goddess of fortune. Born in the city of Śrihaṭṭa, went forth to ten directions, some to Mālava and others to Marudhanva (Rājputānā). They are called Śri-Gauda by the addition of 'Śri' of their villa; ename (i. e. Śrihaṭṭa)".

Śrīhatṭa has been called 'nagara' i. e. city in the third line and again as 'grāma' i. e. village, in the last line of the above extract. This leads us to suspect, whether, Śrīhatṭa-nagara' is the correct reading. We think that the correct word is Śrīhaṭṭa-Nāgara'. This slight change makes the sense clear, without spoiling the metre.

Let us see if our surmise can be supported by facts. In this connection, the word $Bhiksuk\bar{u}h$ first attracts our attention. It

¹ Sup. to Gloss of Ind. Terms, by Sir H. M. Elliot, pp. 417-20,

reminds us of the *Bhikṣu* or *Bhikṣuka* section of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt. These Brāhmaṇas are principally divided into two sections, viz., *Bhikṣu*, ¹ i. e. the priestly class, which lives on charities (*pratigraha*), and *Gṛhastha* ² who follow all sorts of professions, including government service. ³

Again the tradition says that these Brāhmaṇas were formerly the residents of Kāśmīra. This does not seem to be a pure myth. This is capable of proof, if our surmise is accepted. Six years ago, we hinted that the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Śrīhaṭṭa might have come from the north-western border of Kāśmīr. Prof. Bhandarkar has since substantiated this by positive evidence. He has shown that a place named Nāgarakhaṇḍa, in Kāśmīr, is mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (VII. 194). This, no doubt, proves the existence of the Nāgaras in Kāśmīr. He identifies this place with the second of the two chiefships denoted by Hunzā-Nāgara, to the extreme north-west of Kāśmīr. He, further, says that the Nāgaras migrated from their original home in Hāṭaka, near Mānasa lake, westward to Kāśmīr. This is also proved by the existence of the Nagarī class of Brāhmaṇas in Kāśmīr.

Now we shall try to see where this Śrīhaṭṭa was or is. The compiler of the $Br\bar{a}hamanotpatti-m\bar{a}rtanda$ in his $bh\bar{a}s\bar{a}-t\bar{\imath}k\bar{a}$ has located it in Kāśmīr. He has not given any evidence in support of his assertion, nor have we been able to find any. On the other hand the Bombay Gazeteer (Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. ix & n.)

[!] The Nāgaras of Gujarāt attribute the origin of the name of 'Bh'kṣuka' to the curse of Indra, and not of Lakṣmī. The origin of the tradition is based on the following verse of the $Skandapur\bar{a}na$, Nāgarakhaṇḍa ch. 206, which says:—

[&]quot; Mama Vākyād-api prāpya ete Lakṣmīn dvijottamāh | Nirdhanāh sambhaviṣyanti nītvā yad-dvārato' khilam || 163

² As regards vocations and religious customs, these Grhasthas have got striking similarities with the Kāyasthas of Bengal, who according to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, were originally Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. Sherring, speaking of the Mehtās says:—The Mehtās, moreover, are spoken of as writers, and apparently hold the position of the Kāyastha, or writer caste, in northern India.' (Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol I, p, 100). It is very curious indeed that of the different meanings of the word 'kāya', 'grha' is one. Thus the words Kāyastha and Grhastha etymologically mean the same thing.

³ Nagarotpatti by G. S, Pancoli, pp. 60-61.

Ind. Hist. Qly. Vol. VI, p. 71.
 Ind. Ant. 1932, pp. 68-69.

says:-- 'Among the later arrivals of Brāhmaṇas and Kāyasthas in Gujarāt are the Śri-Gauda Brāhmaṇas from Gauda or Bengal by way of Mālava and Dohad'. So according to this evidence Śrihaṭṭa must have to be looked for in Bengal. In fact there is an ancient place named Śrihaṭṭa, in Assam, on the eastern border of Bengal. It is the head-quarters of the district of the same name. Not only Śrihaṭṭa, but there was also a small kingdom named Gauda² in this district. The king had his capital at the modern town of Śrihaṭṭa (Sylhet). This kingdom was conquered by the Muhammudans in the fourteenth century A. D. 3. We have already shown that there has been a settlement of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas in this Śrihaṭṭa, since about the fifth century A. D. 4

In enumerating the different kinds of silver, Kautilya, in his Arthaśāstra, speaks of a variety named 'Gaudikam' or Gaulikam.' Bhattasvāmī, the commentator, interprets this term as 'Kāmarūpajam' Kautilya's Gauda is, no doubt, the Gauda in Bengal, which is much older than the other Gauda in Śrihatta. We do not know what was the extent of Gauda in Kautilya's time, nor whether Gauda produced any silver. A commodity is known by the name of the country of its production, or by that of its market. We do not know again, if the name of Kāmarūpa is so old

¹ Although Sylhet is now politically under Assam, from the liguistic and ethnological points of view, it still forms a part of Bengal. As far as is known in the latter part of the fifth century, Śrihaṭṭa was under the kingdom of Kāmarūpa. It is not known how long it remained so. Most probably with the decline of the Kāmarūpa kingdom, there grew up several independent and semi-independent chiefs, who were conquered by the Muhammudans in the fourteenth century. With this conquest it came under Bengal, and remained so till 1874 A. D., when it was transferred to Assam.

² It is interesting to note here that besides Gauda, there were two other petty kingdoms, named Magada and Lāuda. Magada is, no doubt, named after the well-known kingdom of Magadha, by the people migrating from there. Similarly the other two countries, viz., Gauda and Lāuda (Rādha = Lāuda) were named by the people coming from Gauda and Rādha of Bengal. This, no doubt, accounts for their linguistic and ethnologic affinity with Bengal. An aboriginal tribe called Rādha is found in Mayūrabhañja, on the borders of Rādha, and also in the Sylhet district. They are, no doubt, original inhabitants of Rādha. Lāṭa or Lādha of Gujarāt might have some connection with Rādha or Lādha of Bengal. We hope some students of ethnology will take up this interesting study.

³ J. A. S B. — 1922, p. 413.
Ind. Hist. Qly., Vol. VI, pp. 60-71.

as the fourth century B. C. It may be that Kāmarūpa produced silver, which came to be known to the outside provinces through its market, which was Gauda in Bengal. Or it may be that in Bhattasvāmi's time Gauda of Bengal was under Kāmarūpa kings, which was about the latter half of the seventh and first quarter of the eighth century A. D. If he is of still later date he might have in view the Gauda in Sylhet.

Yaśodhara, the author of the Jayamanyalā commentary on Vātsyāyan's Kāmasūtra, flourished about the middle of thirteenth century. He appears to have known both the Gaudas. He interprets, 'Gaudāh' as Kāmarūpakāh, and again writes:—'Kalinga-Gauda-viṣāyād-dakṣinena'. It should be noticed here that he makes a distinction between Gauda and Gauda-viṣaya. The first is, no doubt, Gauda in Sylhet, which was probably under the Kāmarūpa kings, in the thirteenth century. Gauda-viṣaya, to the south of which has been placed Kalinga, can not but be the Gauda of Bengal. In the Hitopadeśa, which is considered not later than the twelfth century has 'asti Gauda-viṣaye Kauśāmbī-nāma-nagari' Kauśāmbī occurs in the Velābo plate of Bhojavarman, ' and also in Samdhyākara's Rāmacarita of about the twelfth century. It has been identified with the village of Kauśāmbī, with considerable ancient remains, in the Rajshabi district, in Bengal.

The Śrīhaṭṭa-Nāgaras, whom we have identified with the present day Sāmpradāyīka or Vaidika Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet, know nothing about their coming from Kāsmīr. On the other hand, some of them claim that their forefathers came from Kanauj, while others say that they came from Mithilā. We find no improbability in either of the two assertions, as both the provinces have got Nāgara settlements. It is not necessary that they should come direct from Kāśmīr. They might have come va either or both of the countries.

According to the Nāgara-puṣpāñjalī (Vol. I. p. 2). 'Kanaujiā' is the name of a section of the Kapola-Nāgara division of the Nāgaras. This is supported by epigraphic evidence also. An inscription, in the script of the seventh century, found in the ruins

 $E_{\mathcal{P}}$. Ind. Vol. XII, p. 43.

¹ Ind. Hist. Qly., Vol. VI. p. 68.

of Kudarkot, Gavidhmat, Itāwā district, U P., 1 records gift of houses to some Brāhmaṇas, with the surnames of Soma, Kīrti, Śarmā and Svāmi, like those of the Brāhmaṇas, mentioned in the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman, found in the district of Sylhet. Again Risely says that 'Nāgara' is a hypergamous group of the Maithil Brāhmaṇas. It is, therefore, very probable that the Śrīhaṭṭa-Nāgaras came to Sylhet from Kāśmīr, via Kanauj and Mithilā.

As we find both Śrihaṭṭa and Gauḍa in the same locality, that is in the district of Sylhet, we feel no hesitation in identifying this Śrihaṭṭa with the Śrihaṭṭa of the traditional account of the Śri-Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt, whence they are said to have migrated to Mālava and other provinces. By going from Gauḍa in Śrihaṭṭa, they probably came to be known as Śrihaṭṭa-Gauḍa, in contradistinction to the 'Ādi-Gauḍas,' who had already been there. Śri-Gauḍa seems to be nothing but the shortened form of 'Śrihaṭṭa-Gauḍa'.

Now let us see if we can find out the time, when these Brahmanas migrated to Mālava. The Brāhmancipatti-mārianda (p. 433) gives the date of their migration to Gujarat as 'the Nande Rudravarse,' i. e. in the year 1190. Taking this to be in Vikrama era. it comes to 1137 A. D. So their migration from Bengal to Malava must have taken place in the tenth or elventh century at the lat-Epigraphic evidence also goes to support this story of migration of Bengal Brāhmaņas to Mālava, in the latter part of the tenth century onwards. Mr. K. N. Dikshit exhibited at the 150th Anniversary of Foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, held before year last, certain copper plates found at Gaonry in Narwhal Estate near Ujiain. One set of these copper plates was issued by the Paramāra king Vākpati-Munja on the 10th of the bright half of the 2nd Asadha of V.S. 1038 (= 982 A.D.). Some of the donees, says Mr. Dikshit, migrated from 'Kanopā in Magadha, Madhyadeśa, Bilvasavāsa in Daksina Rādha (south-west Bengal) Nandipur (modern Nandur) in south Gujrāt, Paundarika in the Uttarākula country which may mean the northern bank of the

¹ Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 172

² Ibid, Vols XII, p. 65 and XIX, pp. 118 and 246.

³ Castes and Tribes of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 121.

Ganges, Kauśāmbi, Sāvathika which is apparently the same as Srāvasti and Kolānca in Bogra district of North Bengal.' Several other inscriptions also testify to the fact of migration of Bengal Brāhmaṇas to Mālava. ²

HINDU ALCHEMY AND MODERN CHEMISTRY

(The Origin of gold from Mercury)

BY

J. C. Gнозн

The Alchemists of old claimed the knowledge of transmuting baser metals into gold. But the science of modern chemistry, which is a biproduct of the ancient Alchemy, has so long poohpoohed the idea, and called it a dream. Now the Chemists are constrained to admit that this dream of the Alchemists is on the verge of fulfilment. Recently Rao Bhadur Prof. B. Venkatesachar, in the course of his lecture on "The Structure of the Nucleus and the transmutation of Elements", in the Senate House of the Calcutta University, says:—

"The dream of the alchemists was to change baser metal into gold. If we can knock out one proton from the nucleus of the mercury atom we will get the nucleus of gold". (Statesman, Saturday, January 5, 1935, p. 5).

¹ Printed List of Exhibits at the 150th Anniversary of ASB. We are not in agreement with Mr. Diksit, in some of his identifications of the villages. As it appears that most of the donees migrated from Eastern India, their former residences must have to be looked for there. If we fail in that, we should try else-where. Madhyadeśa is, in all probability, Madhyadeśa in the Midnapur district. The Brähmanas of this locality are called Madhyaśrenī Brähmanas even today (Midnapur District Gazetteer). There is a village named Nandipur, under police station Chintamon in Dinajpur (Village Directory, Dinajpur). Pundari and Pundri are the two villages in the same district (Ibid). We know (f a village named Pundari in the Rajshahi district, from where some ancient remains have been collected in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

² Descriptive Lists of Inscr. in C. P. & Berar, p. 72, No. 99: Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 108ff.

The knowledge of the Hindus in Alchemy has been traced as early as the Rgveda (Hist. of Hindu Chemistry, Vol. I, Intro. p. ii). The use of gold was also known at the period. In the Atharva-neda, gold is spoken of as born of fire (Ibid, p. VI). Kaṇāda, the author of the Vaiseṣika system of Philosophy, denies that gold is a substance, although the Mimāmsakas affirm this to be a peculiar substance. He calls it a mineral light and says that 'some maintain that gold is solid light; or, at least the chief ingredient is light, which is rendered solid by mixture with some particles of earth. He again says that gold is affected by the quality of gravity, by reason of earth contained in it' (Ibid, pp. 5 and 7).

Mercury does not appear to have been known so early. Pārada, a name of quick silver, occurs in the Suśruta, but Sir P. C. Ray thinks this reference of Mercury, in that work, rather vague (Ibid, p. 26). Indubious mention of it is found in the Vāgbhata (Ibid, p. 31). Regular treatment of mercury is found in works of 800 A. D. and later. From this time it came to be studied extensively. It acquired so much importance that the word rasa, inspite of its earlier well-known meaning came to be identified with mercury. Rasaiddhi meant 'The knowledge of Alchemy, the possession of peculiar familiarity with mercury obtained by performance of chemical operations, conjoined with certain mystical and magical rites and the securing thence to the adept of happiness, health and wealth, the power of transmuting metals and the art of prolonging life'. (Wilson).

The word Rasāyana, which is now the Sanskrit word for chemistry, used to signify as the science of mercury (Ibid, pp. 43-44) at that period. Not only this, from the Sarvadarśanasamgraha we come to learn that a system of Philosophy named Raseivaradarśana grew round it. Mercury was considered as the energy of Śiva or the creative conjunction of Hara and Gauri (Ibid, pp. xlii+43).

We have so long seen what the Hindus thought of or did with gold and mercury. We shall now see what some of our scriptures say about them.

Dārda, which is another name of Pārada, occurs in the Mahābhārata.

² Alberun connects Patanjali, the author of the Yoga system, with Rasayana (Alberunis India—I. p. 80).

^{10 [} Annals, B. O. R. I.]

The Rāmāyana says that the Ākāsa-Gangā (the celestial Ganges) received the semen of Śiva from Agni and conceived thereby. But as she was unable to bear it, under instructions of Agni, threw it on the side of the Himālayas. This womb coming in contact with the different substances of the earth was turned into gold, silver, copper and iron and its impurities into tin and lead (Ādikānda, Ch. XXXVII).

Again in the $Bh\bar{a}gavata$, we read, that the river Hāṭakī was formed by the semen of Bhava and Bhavānī (Śiva and his consort) in the Viṭala. Once upon a time Śiva, finding that Agni (fire), strengthened by Vāyu (air) was drinking this semen, turned it into gold named $H\bar{a}taka$ by $ph\bar{u}tk\bar{a}ra$ i. e. the blowing of his mouth (Skandha V. Ch. XXIV, 13-18).

Are all these creations of pure imagination or have they got facts at the base? It is well-worth comparing these with the modern theory of the origin of metals. The account given in the $Bh\bar{a}g$ reata seems to be an allegorical expression describing how gold used to be extracted from some compound of mercury by blasting process.

It has been stated above that pārada (mercury) does not occur in the extant Hindu medical books before the Suśruta. This does not prove that mercury was not known to the Indians before that. Varāhamīhira (587 A. D.) knew this to be an aphrodisiac (Brhat-Samhitā, Ch. 76). The Amarakośa (c. 400 A. D.) mentions pārada as a synonym for mercury. We have seen that mercury occurs in the Ādikāṇḍa or the first book of the Rāmāyana. which according to Jacobi is a later addition. Macdonell considers these recent portions to be added not till the 2nd century B. C. and later (Hist. of Sanskrit Literature, p. 309). Mercury is chiefly found connected with the Saiva and Tāntrik cults, which are much older than the second century B. C. So it may not be improbable that the knowledge of mercury in India is as old as those cults.

MAHARAJA RANABHAÑJA AND RANAKA RANABHAÑJA

BY

J. C. GHOSH

Some scholars have held that these two princes are identical, but we have already expressed our disagreement with this view. (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX. Pt. I. p. 43). There are, no doubt, some points of resemblance between the two, which mark them off as belonging to the same dynasty. But there are sufficient dissimilarities which stand against their identity. They are:

- (1) The charters of the Mahārāja Raṇabhañja begin with 'Om (expressed by a symbol) siddhi', whereas those of the Rāṇaka commence with 'Om (also expressed by a symbol) svasti'.
- (2) The Mahārāja was a 'Paramamāheśvara', while the Rāṇaka, a 'Paramavaiṣṇava'.
- (3) The Mahārāja was the son of Gandhata, while the Rāṇaka was the son of Satrubhañja and the grandson of Silābhañja.

The Mahārāja Raṇabhañja ruled in Khiñjali maṇḍala only whereas the Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja and his father Śatrubhañja were the lords of Ubhaya-Khiñjali maṇḍala.

Of these four points of objection, point (3) presents greatest difficulty in identifying the two as one person. In lines 5-6 of the Baud grant of Mahārāja Raṇabhañjadeva of the 54th year, we have: — '\$\frac{gr}{i} - Gandhafa[h]prakafa-pauruṣa-raśmi - cakranirddārit -\bar{a}ri-hidayo-sya pitā nrpasya 3'. Late R. D. Banerji at first interpreted it as that a king named Gandhafa was the king's father. (E. I. Vol. XII., pp. 322-23). But subsequently, with a view to identify the Mahārāja with the Rāṇaka, he explained the passage by saying that the Mahārāja Raṇabhañja was born in the lineage of Gandhafa, (J. B. O, R. S., Vol. XIV., Pt. I. p. 120). If this interpretation is accepted as correct, then the similar expression in line 8 of the Patna Museum grant of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja (E. I. Vol. XX. pp. 100 ff.) shall have to be explained in a similar

manner. In that case Śatrubhañja, the father of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja, was not the son of Silābhañja, but was only born in his line. But as far as we know, nobody has given this interpretation of the line referred to above. We do not, therefore, see our way to agree with Banerji in his subsequent explanation.

Further, if the two princes are identical, we do not know what satisfactory explanation there can be, for Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja to make the following changes, as soon as he assumed the title of Mahārāja:—

- (1) to begin his charter with 'Om siddhi' and discard 'Om svasti', which he had been so long using.
 - (2) to change his religion from Vaisnavism to Saivism.
- (3) to cease to name his father and grand father and mention in their places the name of a distant forefather, Gandhata.
- (4) to rule over only one Khiñjali mandala, although as a Rāṇaka he was the lord of Ubhaya-khiñjali mandala.

Beside the above, we find that their scribes and engravers were also different. Points (1) and (2) may be explained away, but not (3) and (4). When we notice the consistency with which these differences occur, we cannot brush away lightly their cumulative effect. For these reasons, we are of opinion that they were two different persons. Of the two, we think Mahārāja Raṇabhañja was the earlier.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

By

P. K. GODE, M. A.

XXXIV

DATE OF VIMALABODHA'S COMMENTARY ON THE MAHĀBHĀRATA CALLED THE VIṢAMAŚLOKĪ—after 1150 A. D.

Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in his recent article ¹ on the commentators of the Mahābhārata states that Arjunamiśra mentions Vimalabodha and Vimalabodha cites Devabodha and hence we get the series: Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Arjunamiśra As the date of Vimalabodha's commentary has not yet been fixed by scholars I propose in this note to analyse a Ms of his commentary called the Viṣamaślokī viz. No. 84 of 1869-70 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, referred to by Dr. Sukthankar in his article mentioned above. This Ms consists of about 88 folios and bears the date Śaka 1724 (= A. D. 1802). It was copied at Poona by one Kṛṣṇabhaṭ Śivarāma Śivapekar from some original, which he complains (in the colophon) was extremely incorrect. Vimalabodha refers to the following authors and works in his commentary:—

- (1) " निघंटभाष्यनिरुक्तानि "
 - fol. 1, 85.
- (2) वैशंपायनटीका-fol. 1.
- (3) देवस्वामिमत-fol. 1, 12, 15, 23, 24, 31, 54, 59.
- (4) देवबोधपादाः -fol. 2.
- (5) मेधातिाधः -fol. 2.
- (6) निषंदु -fol. 2, 43. निषंट
 - -fol. 12.
- (7) विमलबोधपादाचाः-fol. 2.
- (8) वाराहपुराण-fol. 2.
- (9) भविष्ये-fol. 3.

- (10) आगमे-fol. 3.
- (11) बह्यांडे-fol. 4.
- (12) भट्टजनमेजयाचार्य-fol. 12, 70,
- (13) वेदानिघंट-fol. 12.
- (14) ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त-fol. 13, 81.
- (15) सूत्रकार:-fol. 22.
- (16) स्मृतिकारै:-fol. 23, 25.
- (17) अथर्वणश्चतेः-fol. 25.
 - (18) पडंगयोग-fol. 25, 81.
 - (19) काविला:-fol. 26.
 - (20) मंडकोपाख्याने-fol. 27.

Annals, Vol. XVII, p. 194.

- (21) विक्रमादित्यः-fol. 30. "आरालिकः सूचनको हस्तिनां दमक-स्तथा"
- (21) भोज: fol. 31 (Gujarati Press Edition of the Virāṭaparvan, p. 59 quotes this passage)
- (23) सनत्यजाते-fol. 48.
- (24) श्राति:-fol. 47.
- (25) पूर्वनिबंधकाद्धः-fol. 47.
- (26) विज्ञालाक्ष:-fol. 48.
- (27) चाणक्येन-fol. 48.
- (28) कलिंगटीकायाम-fol. 48.
- (29) कर्मसमुच्चयपक्ष-fol. 48.
- (30) योगसूत्रम-fol. 52.
- (31) पुराणे पंचलक्षणे-fol. 58.
- (32) वैशेषिका:-fol. 59.
- (33) मनुना-fol. 61, 63.
- (34) नीतिशास्त्रे-fol. 61, 64.
- (35) कोटिल्यः -fol. 61, 62.
- (36) भोजराजेन व्यवहारमंजर्याम्

-fol. 63.

- (37) धारश्वराादीभिः अपि निबंधकैः
 - -fol. 64.
- (38) " इति महापौराणिकोपाध्यायश्री-त्रिविक्रमकृतौ महाभारताज्ञेषमः पद्यतात्पर्यार्थविवरणटीकायाम् शांतिपर्वाण राजधर्मश्लोकाः समाप्ताः "-fol. 65.

- (39) गीतायाम्-66
- (40) योगसारे-fol. 67.
- (41) सांख्यप्रक्रिया-fol. 67.
- (42) कल्पमूत्रे-fol. 67.
- (43) कपिलेन-fol. 69.
- (44) जनकपंचशिखसंवादे-fol. 70.
- (45) सूत्रकता-fol. 70.
- (46) विक्रमाजित (विक्रमादित्य?)-fol. 70
- (47) ब्रह्मपुराणीय-fol. 70.
- (48) जमदग्रिवचनात्-fol. 71.
- (49) सूत्रहता-fol. 71.
- (50) योगशास्त्रे-fol. 71.
- (51) छंदोगपारिशिष्ट-fol. 72.
- (52) बात्तकारेण-fol. 72.
- (53) योगज्ञास्त्रविदाम-fol. 72.
- (54) नारदः-fol. 74, 77.
- (55) सरस्वतीकंठाभरणे-fol. 74.
- (56) जौमानना-fol. 74.
- (57) नीतिशास्त्रज्ञा:-fol. 76.
- (58) अकेन-fol. 76.
- (59) **निरुक्त-fol.** 78.
- (60) " काश्यपीयं विद्या उपभुक्तविषना-शिनी "-78.
- (61) प्रातिज्ञाख्यपञ्जिकायाम-fol. 78.
- (62) आथर्वणी श्चाति:-fol. 80.
- (63) रसायने-fol. 85.

 "गधमादन पार्श्वेया सिद्धजंबुरिति
 श्रितः। असृतास्यं फलं तस्य जरारोगविनाज्ञनं॥

In the above references the colophon on fol. 65 quoted by me does not appear to have formed part of Vimalabodha's commentary and this conclusion is proved by its absence in another Ms of Vimalabodha's commentary viz. No. 167 of 1887-91 of the Govt. Mss Library, where on folio 49 we have the following brief colophon "एते राजधर्मस्थविषमाः श्लोकः". Evidently the colophon on folio 65 of Ms No. 84 of 1869-70, which ascribes definitely the authorship of "महाभारततालयांश्वीवयरणटीका" to one जिविकम (styled as "महापोरा-णिकेशपध्याय") is wrongly inserted in the present Ms. Aufrecht in his Catalogus Catalogorum does not mention any commentator

of the name त्रिविक्रम as the author of a commentary described in the above-mentioned colophon. In the list of 22 commentators on the Mahābhārata given by Dr. Sukthankar in his Epic Studies 1 no commentator of the name त्रिविक्रम has been recorded 2.

We now come to the question of the chronological limits for Vimalabodha's commentary. Dr. Sukthankar has already given us the Series "Devabodha-Vimalabodha-Arjunamiśra" which states the relative chronological position of the three commentators. In the list of references recorded above, the references to "धारेश्वर" on folio 64, to "भोजराज" and his "व्यवहारमञ्जर " on folio 63 and to "सरक्तीकण्ठाभरण" on folio 74 enable us to fix one terminus to the date of Vimalabodha's commentary. As king Bhoja of Dhārā is assigned to a period-1010 A. D. and 1055 A. D. and as A. D. 1062 is considered as a limit for his date we may not be wrong in fixing about 1150 A. D. as one terminus for the date of Vimalabodha's commentary on the Mahābhārata.

XXXV

DATE OF KEDARABHATTA'S VRTTARATNAKARA

--before A. D. 1000.

In my note on the Date of Kedārabhaṭṭa's Vṛṭṭaratnākara, ⁵ a popular work on Sanskrit Prosody, I tried to prove that the work was composed before A. D. 1250 in view of its being mentioned in Caṇḍūpaṇḍita's commentary on the Naiṣadracarita (A. D. 1297). Subsequent to the publication of my note I have come across the following quotations from the work in Aruṇadatta's commentary called Sarvāṅgasundarā ⁶ on the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa II:

¹ Annals, Vol. XVII, p. 185.

² Whether त्रिविक्रम was another name of Vimalabodha in the grhasthāś-rama (househoder's life) is a matter for investigation. We may cite as an analogy the name जनाईन, which was the name of Anandajñāna, the author of the Tarksamgraha (G. O. Series Baroda) in the grhasthāśrama.

³ S. K. De; History of Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 147.

⁴ Keith: History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 153, foot-note 2—" Bhoja was alive later than 1060; so also Kalhana vii, 259 treats him as alive in 1062."

⁵ Annals, Vol. XVI, pp. 143-144.

⁶ Astangahrdaya with the commentaries of Arunadatta and Hemādri, ed. by Paradkar Shastri of Akola, N. S. Press, Bombay (forms kindly supplied by the Editor)—pages 235, 236.

Page 235--"मात्रासमकं नवमोल्गान्तम् (मो लगोन्त्यः) "1. (वृत्तरत्नाकरे अ. २।३२)।

Page 236--" द्राति विलाम्बतमाह नभौ भरौ " (वृत्तरत्नाकरे 2 अ. ३१४९).

If the identification of these references as given by the learned shastri is correct we can push back the date of Kedarabhatta's Vrttaratnākara to 1200 A. D. if not earlier.

According to Dr. Hoernle 3 Arunadatta flourished about 1220 A. D. and if we presume his reference to the $Vrttaratn\bar{a}kara$ as identified by the editor of the Sarvangasundara commentary as correct we may safely conclude that this work on prosody was composed earlier than 1150 A. D. Prof. Keith 4 states that the Vrttaratnākara of Kedārabhatta was composed before 15th century, while according to the evidence recorded in the present and earlier notes of mine it appears that the work must have been composed before 12th century, if not earlier. This work deals with 136 metres and is commented on by not less than 20 commentators as pointed out by me in my previous note on the subject.

Further evidence on the date of the Vrttaratnākara is furnished by the commentary of Somacandra which was composed in Samvat 1329 (= A. D. 1273)⁵ as recorded by the author in a verse at the close of his commentary. The Govt, Mss Library at B. O. R. Institute, Poona possesses a Ms of this commentary (No. 349 of 1884-86) but it does not contain the date of composition found recorded in the Ulwar Ms described by Peterson.

¹ The bracketed variant is found in the Calcutta edition (1915) of the Vrttaratnākara, p. 8.

² Ibid, p, 14-line 6 is exactly identical with the line quoted by Arunadatta.

³ Hoernle: Osteology, p. 17 of Introduction—The dates of Arunadatta and two of his successors as fixed by Dr. Hoernle are :-

⁽¹⁾ Arunadatta - about 1220 A. D.

 ⁽²⁾ Vijayarakṣita— ,, 1240 A, D.
 (3) Vācaspati — ,, 1260 A, D.

⁴ History of Sanskrit Literature (1928). p. 417.

⁵ Vide Extract 245 in Peterson's Catalogue of Ulwar Mss p. 89. Somacandra records the date of his work in the following verse:- " श्रीविक्रमनप्रकाले नन्दकरकृपीटयोानिभूसंख्ये संवत १३२९ समजनिरजोत्सवदिने ब्रुनिरियंग्रुग्धबोधकरी ॥ ५ ॥ "

The above date of Somacandra's commentary on the Vrttaratnakara has been included in the Chronology of Indian Authors by Nilamani Chakravarti puulished in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III (1907). pp. 204-220. This is a supplement to M. Duff's Chronology of India and will be found very useful to students interested in Indian Chronology.

Somacandra mentions Hemacandra on folio 17 of the B. O. R. I. Ms referred to above:-- " श्रुतिस्वकृदियमपि जगति

निजशिरउपगतवतिसति भवाति खजा।

शिसालक्षणे व्यत्ययरचिते खज्जा नाम छंदो भवतीति समासार्थः ॥ श्री हेमसूर्यस्विदं छंदोद्वयं पादचतुष्ककलितं वदाति । यथा प्रमृमरमरितरपातेवलितिमर निकरमतनुमपिग्रहाण.......करणततयइव विद्धति चिरतरमवनिपतितिलकन्तवयरविशिखाः ॥ १ ॥ etc."

It appears from the above extract that Hemasūri or Hemacandra has in one of his works dealt with the two lines of the Vrituratnākara viz. "প্রবিশ্বৰ etc." and "নিসাহার etc." as stated by Somacandra. If this statement proves true on identification we may be in a position to push back the date of the Vrituratnākara before 1000 A. D., for the reason that Hemacandra I flourished between 1088-1172 A. D.

Later references to the Vittaratnākara especially in works, the chronology of which has been settled, will be found useful as they will show the authoritative character of the work. Hemādri, the author of a commentary on the Raghuvamśa, who is different from his namesake the author of Ayurvedarasāyana and Caturvaryacintāmaņi quotes, the Vittaratnākara while commenting upon Raghuvamśa VI, 6. I have proved elsewhere that Hemādri the author of the Raghuvamśadarpana flourished in the 1st half of the 15th century. Mr. Nilamani Chakravarti in this Chronology of Indian Authors records the following information about Rāmacandra Bhārati's commentary on the Vittaratnākara composed in A. D. 1455:—

"A. D. 1455—One thousand ninehundred and ninetynine years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddha (according to Ceylonese calculation) Rāmacandra Bhāratī composed a commentary on the Vritaratnākara. The author who was a Bengal Brahmaṇa, went to Ceylon; converted by Parākrama Vāhu VI (A. D. 1410—1462) and was surnamed Bauddhāgama Cakravartin. He was an adept to the Mahāyāna School, a form of Buddhism, says Prof. Bendal, almost unknown in Ceylon, B. M. C. No. 429."

¹ Keith: History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 464.

² Vide List I, p. 17 of S. P. Pandit's Edn, of the Raghuvamsa.

³ Annals, Vol. XIV, p. 126,

⁴ Journ. A. S. B. Vol. III, (1907) p. 208.

^{11 [} Annals, B. O. R. I.]

REVIEWS

BHĀTTĀCINTĀMAŅI of Vānccheśvarayajvan, edited by M. M. Venkatasubrahmanya Shastri, The Madras Law Journal Press, Madras, 1934, Price Rs. 6/-

The work under review is a commentary on the Bhāttadīpikā of Khandadeva. This commentary should be distinguished from other commentaries of the same name on the Mimāmsā Sūtra viz. (1) by Gangādharabhatta and (2) by Viśveśvarabhatta. 1 Aufrecht does not record any Ms of the Bhattacintāmaņi the work under review, composed by Vāncheśvara. though he refers to the other works of this author viz. (1) Śrauta Sūtra commentary 2 (Hiranyakeśisūtravyākhyā) which he says was "composed about 1800". Another commentary on the Bha. ttadīpikā of Khandadeva was written in 1708 by Sambhubhatta. a pupil of Khandadeva 3 himself. Khandadeva also called Sridharendra, was the son of Rudradeva. Besides Sambhubhatta he had another pupil viz. the renowned Jagannatha Panditaraja 4. In addition to Bhattadipika two other works are also ascribed to him viz. (1) Bhāttarahasya and (2) Mimāmsākaustubha. Khandadeva died at Benares in A. D. 1665.

There is another published commentary on the Bhāttadīpikā called Bhāttacandrikā written by Bhāskararāya. The present commentary by Vāncceśvarayajvan though it follows the Bhāttacandrikā of Bhāskararāya in certain respects has still its special features and peculiarities. These have been dealt with by Āryasvāmi in his able Sanskrit Introduction to the work under review (pp. 1-2). Though Vānccheśvara's commentary is comparatively modern it serves a very useful purpose by its lucid exposition and vindication of the ancient Mīmānsā doctrines. The language of the commentary is as simple as could be used

Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 404; Pt. III, p. 88.

² Ibid—Part I, pp. 561, 766.

³ Ibid—Ibid—p. 404.

[♣] Ibid—Ibid—p. 136.

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consistently with the demands made on the commentator by the abstract nature of the Mimāmsā doctrines and their critical exposition.

The edition of the present commentary was first projected in 1927 and commenced by Mahāmahopādhyāya Venkata Subrahmanya Shastri of Madras. He was eminently fitted for this task by his deep erudition and ability. He had also in his possession the only Ms of the present commentary on which the edition under review is based. Another fortunate cricumstance was his ancestral relation to our commentator, he being the son of the daughter of Vañcchesvara, the author of the Bhattacintamani (vide Genealogy on p. 20 of Introduction). A work so well-circumstanced and enthusiastically projected has had, however, many mishaps. M. M. Venkatasubha Shastri unfortunately died in 1928 and the work of publication came to a stand-still. After sometime His Holiness Śrī Śamkarācārva of the Kāmakotipitha came to the rescue of this work and appointed Mr. Venkatarama Shastri, the son of the late M. M. Venkatasubba Shastri to see the work through the press. He too unfortunately died after sometime and Mossrs Subrahmanya Shastri and Balasubrahmanya Shastri were appointed in his place to carry the work of publication to completion, Naturally, therefore, the printed volume of the present edition though elegant in all other respects contains numerous printing mistakes and an attempt has been made to rectify them in an Errata of 32 pp. annexed to the volume. Another difficulty of the Editor was his necessary reliance on a single Ms of this valuable commentary.

Inspite of these blemishes the work has been on the whole carefully done by the Editors and the main credit of bringing to light this elaborate unpublished commentary on Khandadeva's Bhāṭṭadīpikā must be given to H. H. Śrī Jagadguru Śamkarācārya of the Kāmakoṭipīṭha, but for whose sponsorship of this laborious and costly undertaking this commentary would have remained unknown as hitherto.

The Sanskrit Introduction by Āryasvāmī to the present edition is sufficiently critical and historical. Aufrecht states as we have stated above that Vānccheśvara wrote his *Hiranyakeśisūtravyākhyā* about 1800 A. D. On page 331 of the present edition

Vāncchesvara states—"एवं छंदोगानां स्वस्त्रशिया अनुष्ठानित्यादिकं हिर्ण्य-केशिसूत्रदेयाख्याने प्रतिपादितमस्माभिः" This reference by our author to his commentary on the Hiranyakeśisūtra in the Bhāṭṭacintāmani proves, if Aufrecht's statement referred to above is correct, that the Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi may have been composed after A. D. 1800 or so. The author of the Introduction states (p. 18) that Vāncchesvara wrote other works previous to his writing the Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi in his oldage and that he flourished between A. D. 1780 and A. D. 1850 (p. 2). The Genealogy (on p. 20) shows that our author was descended from Govinda Dikṣita, the well-known minister of Acyutadevarāya (1529-1542 A. D.).

Vancchesvara travelled far and wide from Benares to Ramesvaram. This fact is vouched by the following passports in the possession of his descendants and now published after the Introduction in the volume under review.

Appendix I— Passport No. 292 dated 26th Nov. 1816 signed by M. Elphinstone, Resident at Poons.

Appendix II-- Passport dated 8th October 1818 signed by W. M. Chaplain, Katoral Palace Agent, Subha Dharwar etc.

Appendix III— Passport dated Poona, 25th Sept, 1822, signed W. M. Chaplain.

Appendix IV—Passport in Kanarese dated 24th January 1824 signed by Krishnaraya Wodiaravaru of Mysore.

Appendix V— Passport in Persian language, modī Script and Kanarese signature, dated 31st Jan. 1824 written by Bukh Row Munshi, Huzur Darbar, Camp Ramanathapura.

Appendix VI—Letter dated 11th Feb. 1828 to Vedamurty Kutti Sastry by Shri Krishnaraja Wodaiyar.

l In the Introductory verses to the Bhātṭacintāmaṇi Vāñccheśvara states that he composed the following works—

⁽¹⁾ माहिषशतकव्याख्या , (2) हिरण्यकेशिसूत्रव्याख्या ; (3) उत्तिचिन्तामाणि ; (4) श्राद्ध-चिन्तामाणि ; (5) ब्रह्मसूत्रार्थिचिन्तामाणि ; (6) काकतालीयवादार्थ.

The writer of the Introduction adds the following works to the above list of Vancchesvara's works.—

⁽⁷⁾ हिरण्यकोशिसामान्यसूत्रव्याख्या; (8) धूर्गानचन्द्रिका; (9) श्लेषार्थचान्द्रिका and (10) तर्कसंग्रह्रव्याख्या.

All the above documents refer to Vānccheśvara's pilgrimage to Rameśvaram and the facilities offered to him by the then authorities for a safe and comfortable journey. The name Kutty Shastry referred to in the above permits was the popular name of Vānccheśvara.

The persent edition contains (1) an elaborate table of contents; (2) an alphabetical index of adhikaranas dealt with in the Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā; (3) an alphabetical index of the sūṭras; (4) an alphabetical index of nyāya-adhikaranas and (5) a dictionary of quotations occurring in the Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi indicating in some cases their identified sources. All these are useful features of the edition. But for a student of the history of Sanskrit literature not only quotations but even the mere names of authors and works mentioned in this bulky text of 482 pages are important. I have tried to make up this deficiency partially by preparing and appending to this review a list of such references which caught my eye during a cursory perusal of this valuable commentary which I trust would be a rough guide to the historical student.

APPENDIX

Works and Authors mentioned by Vānccheśvara in his Bhāttacintāmani

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P. K. Gode.

THE MYSTERY OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, VOLS. I-V, by Prof. N. V. Thadani, M. A., price Rs. 44/-, Bharat Publ. House, Karachi

This large work covering more than 2000 pages, has now been finished, and the learned author who has been busy with this task for more than 12 years past, deserves to be congratulated upon his patience and perseverence, which alone, combined naturally with a sincere enthusiasm, could have led to the accomplishment of the "mystery".

As we had already expressed, while reviewing, in these pages, the first volume of this work, it is one thing to conceive an idea, and altogether another to exert the necessary patience to work out the same. Every man, according to a well known maxim, is a poet; but it is given to only a few to bring their heart's poetry into concrete form, and of fewer still, to do the work beautifully.

Leaving aside casual readers who only read for diversion, and others who read it as a sacred rite which fetches some 'punya', any student who carefully reads a number of chapters in the Great Epic, is struck by a sort of looseness of construction all-through. There are many contradictions, repetitions, parallelisms etc. in the body of the Epic, and for nearly a century past scholars are busy studying the different problems, connected with the Great Epic, each scholar trying in his own way to find some reasonable solution thereto.

And here is a large work of the nature; this has engaged Prof. Thadani for 12 years, and one really admires the patience with which the learned author has stuck to his laborious task. Five bulky volumes of a considerable size, covering more than 2000 pages, is not the work which can be turned out of an ordinary brain. And one's regard for the author rises still higher, when one sees that the subject, too, is not such an attractive one.

But the idea of this great work attracted Prof. Thadani, and we have the result before us. And what would be our judgment when we glance at the contents, and with patience equal to that of the author, set ourselves to studying the whole 'Mystery'?

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In order to justify his own remarks, it is now the unfortunate task of the reviewer to lay before the readers, at least a brief out line of the work he reviews. Of course, if it is a really sweet work the reviewer is blessed by the reader for supplying the contents, but the present is a different case, and hence this apology:

'The Great Epic' in the opinion of the learned author, 'is not a mere story of great deeds of mythological heroes and gods, but a wonderful explanation of all systems of Hindu Philosophy and Religion, written in a story form which, when examined in the light of ancient method of *Letter-analysis*, reveals the great secret of its real meaning and mystery'.

This idea of Letter-analysis has been most patiently worked out in all the five Volumes before us. The First Volume shows how the Sacred Books of the Hindus, from the Vedas to the Epics, deal with the science and philosophy of life-evolving from the organic Cell into Brahmanda or the whole Universemand concludes with an explanation of the Hymns and Gods of the Vedas in this light.

Second Volume examines the great systems of Hindu Philosophy and Religion, and shows how they are all based on the Vedas, and connected with one another.

In the Third Volume we have a detailed account of the story of the Epic, divided into 372 sections and a brief explanation of the essential idea of the whole as a picture of all the systems. The Fourth and Fifth Volumes contain a detailed explanation of the whole story of the Great Epic, and show that it is a picture of the contest between the different Systems of Philosophy, in the light of the ancient method (?) of Letter-analysis.

The reader is, all through the extensive work, faced with the mystery of this so called ancient method of Letter-analysis. It would have been well if the author had quoted the original source of this method; but such being not the case, the mere perusal of the table at p. 323ff of Vol. III is not at all convincing and satisfactory. The learned author has also, at the beginning of the Fourth Volume, given a long list of the characters in the Epic with the corresponding ideas which, in the opinion of the author, they personify.

^{12 [} Annals, B. O. R. I,]

Going a little further, into the heart of this laborions work, we have, at Vol. III, p. 316: "The whole story of the Mahābhārata is but an account of the connection and conflict between the different systems of Hindu Philosophy and Religion". So that really speaking, there is no history, no war and no death! What is war is only a debate where each side starting from some common point of agreement, marshalls its array of arguments. "Of these," to quote the author again, "the most interesting as well as the most comprehensive conflict is between principal Vedānta and principal Sāmkhya or Vaisnavism on the one hand, and Buddhism and Jainism on the other-and that is the subject matter of the great "battle" of Kuruksetra!"

Now, we shall quote a few stray instances, picked up at random, to show how Prof. Thadani, explains the story in his own way.

"The word for Gambling in the text is Dyūta (d, y, \bar{u} , ta,) meaning, (d) giving, (y) Buddhi, (\bar{u}) woven with (u) the senses of knowledge, and (ta) the senses of Action." The Gambling match is thus a discussion between Buddhi on the one hand (Yudhiṣṭ-hira), and the senses of knowledge and Action, the basis of Jainism (Śakuni) on the other".

In Vol. III of the work, we have an Enalish translation, in verse, of all the eighteen chapters of the Lord's Song, Bhagavadgītā; while the situation is explained, in Vol. IV. (pp. 463ff.), as follows. "The Battle of Kurukṣetra is a "conflict" of systems of thought. Man is first represented as unable to accept the the Yoga system of thought, where Yoga is identified for practical purposes with Vedānta, as Buddhi, the basis of Yoga, is identified with the soul, the basis of Vedānta. This gives us Yoga-Vedānta, Visiṣṭādvaita, or qualified Monism, the creed of the Man, while his opponents are wedded to Buddhism and Jainism."

"The Nature of the combat-we have explained that the general "combat" between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas is between Vaiṣṇavism (Vedānta-Yoga-Vaiśeṣika) on the one hand and Buddhism and Jainism (Sāṃkhya-Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika) on the other. The two sides meet, however nominally on the common ground

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of Vaisesika based on the character of the Mind, holding that Purusa and Prakrti are joint and equal or almost equal partners in the creation of life. Starting from this, the Pāṇḍavas have to prove that it is god alone who creates, and Prakrti, if it is a separate entity is but a spectator of this work."

It is really wonderful. Prof. Thadani has, with exceptional patience, worked out even all the minor details of his theory, although, in the elaborate Volumes, one often comes across tedious repetitions, the only point-and this is really the important point at issue.—is how far the reader can be convinced by all his laborious argument in favour of the allegorical nature of the Great Epic.

That the Mahābhārata is an 'Itihāsa'—of course Prof. Thadani's Letter—analysis is sure to interpret this word in quite another way. But, as it is at present understood, by all—a 'history' and not a myth or allegory, is recorded in the very text of the Epic, in numerous places: 'Itihāsottamād asmāt'; 'jayo nāmetīhā—so yam', etc. etc. That the Pāṇdavas, Kauravas, Kṛṣṇa, in fact, all the characters connected with the story were living persons; they moved, they fought, and they died, is the idea which holds us to the end, as we read the Great Epic; and we exult, cry, and weep with them, owing to the deep interest that is aroused in our heart.

And now comes Prof. Thadani with his thesis and asks us to consider the whole as nothing more than a deliberate attempt to put the contest of all the systems of thought into an allegorical form! And judging from our ideas which have been deep rooted in our heart, for centuries, we would not be surprised if this learned author, after all his labours, finds them wasted for want of any followers.

And still, one cannot but admire the Professor's enthusiasm, which carried him to the end of his self-imposed task!

S. N. Tadpatrikar.

BHĀRATĪYA ANUŚĪLANA, publ. Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Allahabad, Sam. 1990

This Commemoration Volume prepared in honour of and delicated to Mm. Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha, the Vetaran Indian Scholar, on the attainment of his 71st year, contains, as usual, numerous articles from the pen of scholars of repute, and deals with different topics of Ancient Indian interest. The fact that many ruling princes of Northern India, have made liberal donations to cover the cost of printing the Volume, shows the great respect that this venerable scholar commands even among the aristocratic circle.

A special feature of this Volume is that, excepting those in English, all the articles written in the different vernaculars of India, are printed in Devanāgarī type; while to each article is attached a short Summary in Hindi.

The Volume has been divided into 10 different sections, and the list of scholars who have written articles for this Volume covers not only the whole of India, but also includes some European scholars of high reputation. Among latter, to mention only a few, are Prof. A. B. Keith, Otto Strauss, Przluski, Konow, Glassennop, Norman Brown etc.

Looking closely into this vast field, we have before us, a rich harvest of the different important crops, in different places. It is not, however, possible to take a complete survey of all the articles in this large volume. With apologies therefore, to the learned writers, whose writings have not been noticed here, the following is a running summary of some of the articles that would interst even a general reader.—

Prof. Keith has, in his article on the Indus valley civilization arrived at the negative conclusion that it is not that of the Rgveda; while in his Hindi article, Prof. S. K. Chatterji. has taken a review of the Ancient Indian Culture, and having mentioned the different influences to which it was subjected, has, turn-

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ing to the Epics, finally remarked that the Great Epic Mahābhārata in its present encyclopaedic form, was established some time about the beginning of the christian era.

Prof. Sten Konow's notes on Takṣaśilā, as well as Mr. Jayaswal's article on Āryamañjuśrīmūla Kalpa are also of considerable interest, the latter especially so, as the writer has culled out a history of the Mauryan period from this Bhuddhistic work.

Prof. Altekar has thrown some new light on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarath, while the articles on Poet Dhoyi, author of Pavanadūta, Karṇa, Solanki king, the Jain king Kumārapāla have a historical interest. Mr. Bahadurchandra Sastri of Leiden university, gives an account of the Hindu literature in Java; Mr. Acharya of Mayurbhanj writes about some rulers of Orissa in the Mediaeval Period.

Turning to the period of Modern History, Mr. Bendre of Poona in his Marathi article, describes the last battle of Vijaynagar. Then we have some side light on the history of the Maratha movements in Rajaputana, where the writer Mr. Bhalerao, pleads for more research work in the line. A military History of India from Ancient times is given in a brief outline by general Shinde of Baroda; here we see how the art of warfare developed among the Indians.

Diwanbahadur Sarda gives in an interesting article, a brief history of the research work mainly bearing on Rajaputana done by scholars of the 19th century.

Passing over some articles of Epigraphic interests, we come to Indian Art, where Mr. Ramachandran gives us some interesting details of Pallava Paintings.

An English article treating of some Tibetan customs, by the late Sir J. J. Modi of Bombay, takes us to another, treating of 'Kṣatriyas in Greater India' where Dr. V. Chatterji, gives us a peep into the history of Indian exploits in the Far East. Raibahadur Hiralal brings us back to Central India and C. P., and shows how Rajputs settled in this part, are connected with their original clans.

It is interesting to note that Sjt. Rameshvarji son of Pandit Ojha, contributes an article on the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. The article gives a comparative study of all the Pauranic sources and it is illustrated by Photos of some of the old images of the Varāha. And speaking of the Puraṇas, we have another interesting article from the pen of Mr. Jayachandra Vidyalamkāra, one of editors of this Volume. This article deals with the Rājasūya expedition of the Pāṇḍavas, and throws important historical light on some of the places into the west enumerated in Nakula's expedition as described in the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata. Mr. Narang has, here, suggested some inlelligent emendations and also shown his critical views regarding the identification of these places.

In the end, we wish long life to Pandit Ojha, who commands such high respect among all Sanskritists, and with repeated apologies to the scholors, whose names and writings, have through oversight, been omitted in this short review, we conclude.

S. N. Tadpatrikar.

EVOLUTION OF HINDU MORAL IDEALS by Sir S. P. Sivaswami Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., LL. D., Calcutta University, (1935); pp. XIX+230+12.

It is well-known that the late Sir Ashutosh Mukarjee had been an exemplar to the the Vice-Chancellors of the other Indian Universities by founding the Research Department of the Calcutta University. It is not however equally known that he had also been an examplar to the well-to-do from amongst the living fathers of children by founding in 1924 a lecturership at the Calcutta University in loving memory of his beloved daughter Kamalā, for an annual delivery of a course of three lectures in English or Bengali on some aspect of Indian life and thought to be treated from a comparative standpoint and by providing the University with the wherewithals to remunerate the lecturer liberally and publish the lectures, by handing over G. P. Notes of a fairly large amount. The choice of the Senate of that University having once fallen on Sir S. P. Sivaswami Aiyer and he having been left free to select any subject falling within the terms of the endowment, selected the subject which forms the title of the book under review.

The learned author has made it clear in the preface that the said subject had suggested itself to him by the recent organized attempts of orthodox Hindus to oppose the introduction of social reform in Hindu Society by legislative enactments and that his object was to convince the educated Indians that the ethical ideals of the Hindus have not remained the same since the earliest time of which we have a literary record but have continued to undergo changes from time to time according to the requirements of each age and that therefore it would be no sacrilege to mould our ethical ideals so as to suit the modern conditions. With that end in view he has examined the views of the Hindu law-givers on several topics of ethical interest such as woman, slavery, caste, law and justice &c. and appraised them in the light of the modern notions on those topics, in the first nine chapters following the Introductory. While doing so he has

given comparative notes based on the works of European writers on morals such as Leckey, author of the History of European Morals, Westermarck, author of the Origin and Development of the Moral Ideals, Hobhouse, author of Morals in Evolution and others, with a view to enable the readers to take into consideration the ideas and customs of other nations on the same topic before passing judgments on those of the Hindus.

His other declared object in selecting this subject was to consider the validity or otherwise of the criticisms of the principles of the Hindu religion made by some Christian missionaries in order to show to the world how ill-informed, unfair and biassed they were. This he has done in Chapter XI of the work. He has also considered therein the question whether the influence of the Hindu religious principles has been deleterious to the ethical and social progress of Hindu India.

Chapter XII has been devoted to an investigation of the question whether the changes that have already taken place in the ethical conception of the educated Hindus of both the sexes are desirable or undesirable. In the thirteenth and the last chapter the author has expressed his views as to the trend of modern thought on ethical subjects and considered how far the unhealthy tendencies that have crept in are capable of being checked and ought to be checked in order that the foundations of Hindu society may not be shaken and uprooted though its structure may be re re-modelled and re-constructed so as to suit the changed outlook on life brought on by the spread of Western education and culture and by an increase in the intensity of the struggle for existence.

This book thus serves a triple purpose, (1) that of trying to persuade the orthodox Hindus to agree to the introduction of certain reforms which the spirit of the present age have made inevitable and which are not inconsistent with the Scriptures; (2) that of defending the fundamental principles of the Hindu religion against the attacks of prejudiced and interested critics and (3) that of warning the radical reformers of both the sexes against the danger of blindly following the Western nations wherever they go and of impressing upon them the necessity of drawing a line up to which it would be safe to go if the integrity of the Hindu

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character of our society is to be preserved. His criticism is well-founded and sympathetic, his defence well-documented and vigorous and his warning well-thought out and friendly. There is no invective in his criticism, no partiality in his defence and no imperiousness in his warning.

There are however two drawbacks therein which I cannot refrain from taking a note of. The first is that no attempt has been made by the learned author to determine what is the scope of the science of ethics, whether morality is an end in itself or a means to an end, what are virtues and what are vices, whether there is anything like an absolute moral standard by which the actions of everybody, whether in private or public life, should be judged and if so, what it is and if not, what should be the standards by which private conduct and public conduct ought to be judged. If the examination of the ethical notions of the Hindus had been commenced after doing that, I believe the work would have proved more useful. Another drawback that I have noticed in this work is the lack of any scientific arrangement of the different topics of ethical interest with reference to which the evolution of the Hindu ideals have been traced. The learned author has admitted in the preface that he has not attempted any classification of the topics and his excuse for not doing so is that whatever principle of classification is adopted, the classes would be found to be overlapping. In my view that excuse is not convincing.

Yet so far as it goes, the work is sure to commend itself to the educated Indians for whose edification it has been written and to prove an eye-opener to them with respect to several topics of interest about which they carry wrong notions imbibed in the college class-rooms and on playgrounds. For those who wish to study the subject seriously the author has taken pains to prepare and append an exhaustive index. The printing and get up of the work are also such as to attract readers towards it.

P. C. Divanji.

EARLY HISTORY OF KAUSAMBI by Nagendranath Ghosh with an introduction by Radhakumud Mookerji; Allahabad Archaeological Series, No. 1, Allahabad, 1935. Pp. XXXV+120. Price, Rs. 4/-.

This book is a praiseworthy attempt to collect in a single volume all known information about the city of Kauśāmbī before the Mughal period. The author is a typical exponent of that renascent enthusiasm for antiquity which has found an important practical outlet in the activities of the Allahabad Archaeological Society, of which the author is (according to the titlepage) an Hony. Life Member.

The book opens with a discussion of the oldest known references to the city of Kauśāmbī, of which that in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa seems more valuable than any in the Purāṇic tradition. But these, after all, are vague. The fullest body of evidence adduced belongs to the Buddhistic period and to the days of Mauryan rule. At this stage, something more is known of the people associated with the city than mere names, and the author closes the Early History proper at the reign of Udayana. The rest of the book consists of three appendices, rather curiously divided. The most important single report is that in Appendix II, on an image of Buddha of the second year of Kanişka's rule. Appendix I is a reasonably full and critical account of the date available to the author from Udayana to Bahasatimita. The book is decently printed, and supplied with some moderately good plates as well as a very convenient Index.

With all due praise for a first attempt, it must be confessed that the work in question leaves a great deal to be desired. The striking part about the whole discussion is the paucity of material to which any credence can be given by the historian. From the pioneer view-point of a Vincent Smith, in the much larger framework of a general history of India, even fabulous references have some worth. But the evidence of a book like the Kathāsaritsāgara, mentioned in the introduction as well as the text, has about as much value as that of the Arabian Nights for a critical

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history of the caliphate of Harounal Rashid. The Jataka stories are not much better, and an Atthakathā written eight centuries after the period by a monk in Ceylon who shows no acquaintance with northern India can, at best, be mentioned in passing. For all this, it might be possible to excuse the author and the learned prefator; but both have neglected the most important new source available to them, the Jain tradition. The sole religious building of any importance that survives on the ruins of a far vaster edifice at Kosam is Jain, the temples at Pabhosā are Jain; the images, which lay scattered in 1930 on the path from the Aśoka pillar to the riverside-perhaps a by-product of Dayaram Sahni's work in excavating the base and restoring the pillar-and which (according to pages 110-111) now grace the Allahabad Museum are mostly Jain. But to one who relies on the present work alone for his knowledge, there is not even a suspicion of the existence of a large ardhamagadhi tradition in which many interesting details about the venerable city could be found.

The book and, for that matter, all the activities of the Society call for a word of warning. No history of Kausambi is possible without excavation. And as yet, not even the surface has been scratched. The ruins have raised the ground level for about three square miles to very nearly the height of the pillar there, but the indigent farmer still ploughs over the mixure of dust and brickbats in the hope of a precarious crop. The legend that an unexpectedly classical if unerudite tenant relates even now of a spot where the relics of Janamejaya's (sic) yajña may be found indicates some holocaust from which that portion of the ancient city never recovered. The dry water-courses which lead to the river are undoubtedly old streets, as seen from the remains of brick walls down to the very bottom. When the Allahabad amateurs begin to drive their trenches across these gigantic ruins, let them not, in the excitement of a first discovery, obscure or damage evidence that will be of great value to the expert. That they themselves, even with the very best of intentions, still lack something of the expert touch is evidenced by the publication of the present book which, however, is quite suitable for newspaper articles. The present reviewer photographed (in situ) the companion inscription to that referred to on p. 110, but six years have elapsed without the Allahabad people reaching anything like a satisfactory reading, or even one which scholars who have seen the photographs think plausible. Again, the large bricks referred to on p. 103 as presumably ancient are either paving bricks, or bond bricks used, even after the Guptas, for the string courses necessary in buildings erected without good foundation in alluvial soil. The conjecture on p. 106 about the Aśoka pillar is incomprehensible, and could be decided at once by a word from Dayaram Sahni as to the precise extent of his spadework.

Kausāmbi has yet to find its Gregorovius and its Giacomo Boni.

K.



